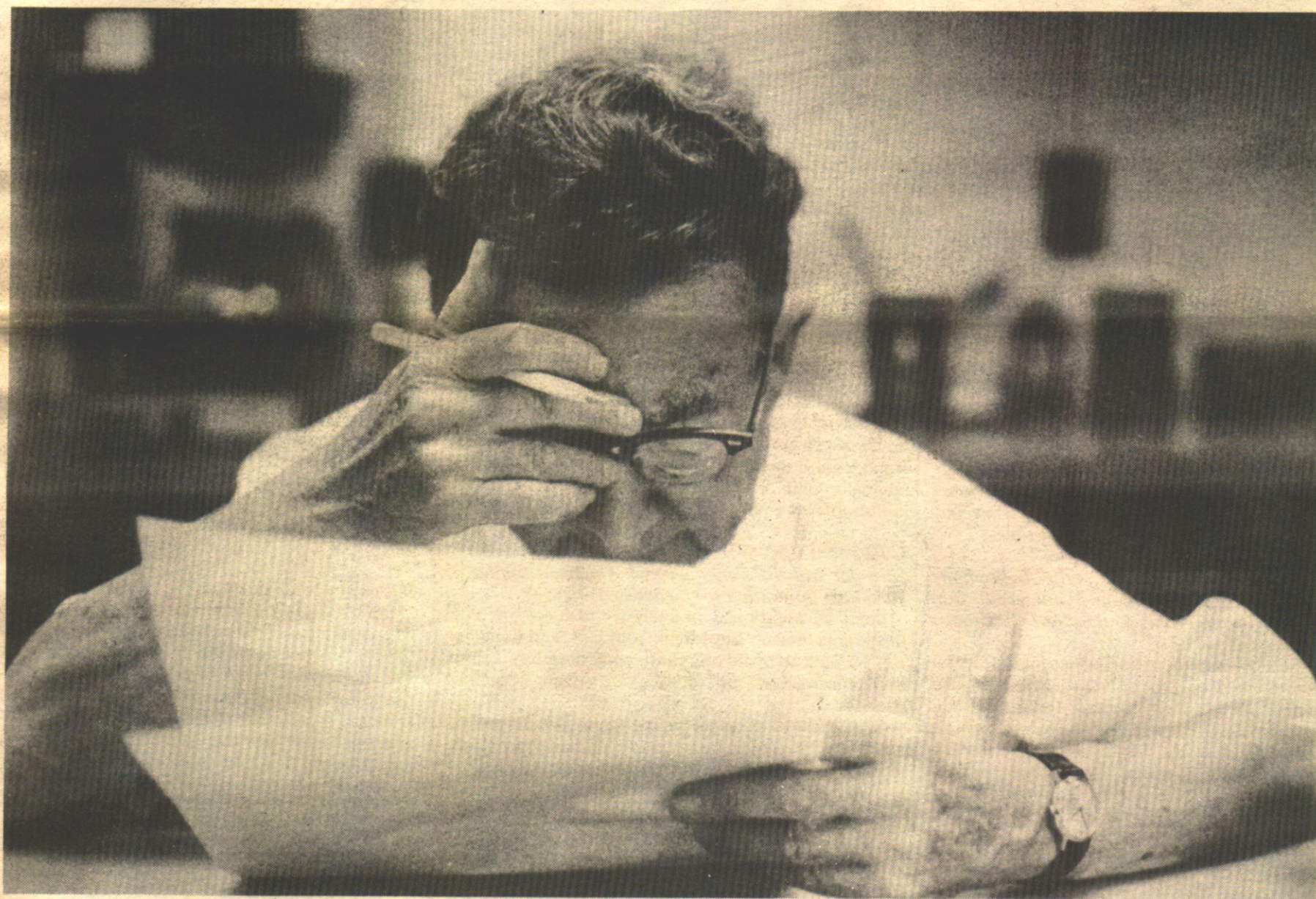




## *The Importance of Being Izzy*

Photo Courtesy Open Circle Cinema

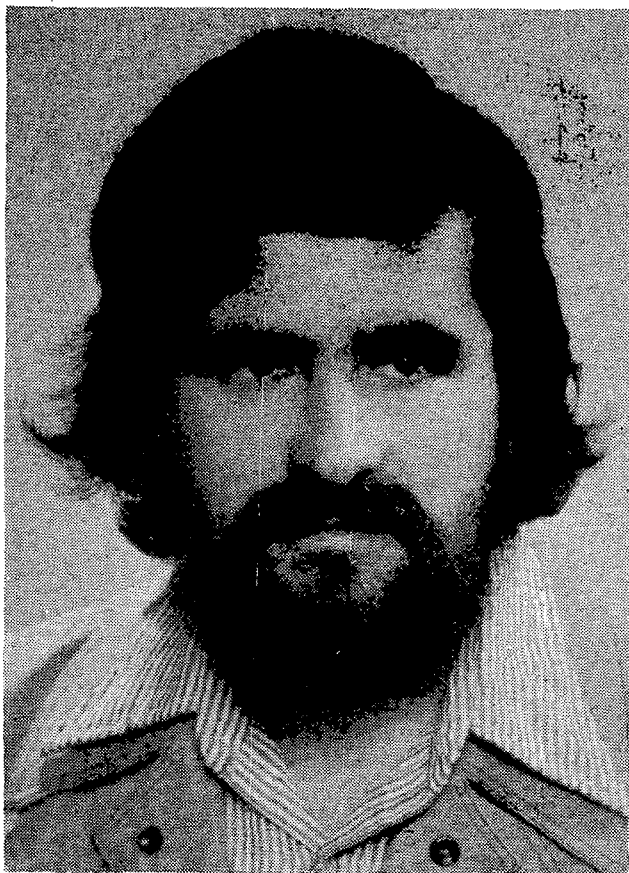


*After 50 years of digging up  
stories no one else would  
touch, I.F. Stone is the  
journalist's journalist.*



# THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



## Quebec's path to independence

Henry Milner is the author of two books on Quebec: *DE-COLONIZATION OF QUEBEC* and *POLITICS IN THE NEW QUEBEC*, which were recently released. Milner, 31, lives in Montreal and teaches at Vanier College. He is active in the CNTU and the Montreal Citizens Movement. This interview was conducted by Doug Ward and Elizabeth Bolton of the Canadian University Press.

**You are a prominent member of Comité Anglophone pour une Québec Unifié—an anglophone group that supports the nationalist goals of the Parti Québécois. Could you tell us about it?**

We felt the PQ's aim to make Quebec into a French country with political control of its own affairs to be a legitimate one. We felt their demands to be valid and we didn't want to see the debate degenerate into a simple French versus English battle. We hoped to underline the class dimension of the situation. To this end, we submitted a brief at the public hearings leading up to Bill 101. [Bill 101 made French the official language.] Only a handful of us are Parti Québécois members and most are strongly critical of aspects of the party.

### New middle class party.

**Why do you support it in some ways and criticize it in others?**

The PQ is a coalition of progressive elements similar to that existing now in Italy. It's not a working class party but models itself on social democracy of Sweden. Its base is the "new middle class," university-educated teachers, journalists, public servants, social workers and so on. This class has expressed Quebec nationalism since the Quiet Revolution in the early '60s and continues to do so as the leading class within the nationalist movement.

Some people say the PQ is a bourgeois party and as such should be rejected. But I find that analysis entirely ahistorical. It's quite clear that the working class and its leaders, as such, should maintain its distance from the PQ.

But they should also understand the evolution of this "new middle class" created by the state, its relationship to the PQ and the close link between it and the working class through the trade unions. Remember, in Quebec, the state middle class is highly unionized.

**But haven't the public sector unions like the CNTU and CEQ been critical of the Parti Québécois?**

In the CNTU and CEQ, the membership is mainly

*This edition (Vol. 2, No. 29) published June 7, 1978, for newsstand distribution June 7-13.*

PQ while its leadership—under constant pressure from Marxist-Leninists in the unions—have tended to be highly critical of the PQ.

On the other hand, the Quebec Federation of Labour has been sympathetic to the PQ while its membership is largely Liberal or even New Democratic. At any rate, the public sector unions' official positions should not be automatically equated to the perspective of membership.

Sure, I think the working class should oppose the PQ on a number of specific issues. It is not their party and they don't control it. But that's very different from seeing the PQ as a class enemy like the Liberals and Conservatives or any party directly controlled by the bourgeoisie.

In the future, the new middle class will likely split into different categories. There will be more technocratic elements who will warm to American capital. But the large majority of the class will find themselves increasingly proletarianized as the state increasingly is reluctant to fund the sector as before. They will find their professional status gradually degraded.

### Independence inevitable.

**As you say, if the economic crisis continues, all levels of government will be forced to tighten their belts and cut service in areas like education and social services. Given this, might the PQ not alienate its support by curbing spending?**

It's an interesting question. The PQ cannot meet the full demands of the public sector workers without destabilizing the present system. But I can't see a sharp confrontation coming at least until after some form of sovereignty is won. The roots of the PQ in the class it would be confronting are too intimate. The same people will be sitting across from one another at the bargaining table. But your question could take on more prominence following sovereignty.

### Is political independence for Quebec inevitable?

The only way the cultural thrust towards sovereignty can be stopped is by either federalizing those who have provided political and intellectual leadership in Quebec or by absorbing large numbers of francophones into the corporate sector. Both of these strategies are unlikely to succeed. Trudeau has tried to bring francophones to Ottawa, make them into civil servants and make the bureaucracy bilingual. All it's done is create an English-Canadian backlash.

And the Macdonald Commission on the police learned that francophone federal civil servants pass information over to the PQ. Trudeau is only creating a "Trojan Horse" because he can't win their "hearts and minds."

It's equally difficult to incorporate educated francophones into the private sector. For a variety of reasons, francophones have not historically gone into the private sector and an ideological repugnance towards business still prevails. Many—particularly the educated francophone youth—view the businessman as either an anglophone or a sell-out. So it will be very hard to inhibit this long-term move towards sovereignty.

### Capitalist opposition.

**How far will the Canadian and American capitalists go in their opposition to Quebec sovereignty?**

Some corporations will likely try to force the hand of the government. But I think both U.S. and Canadian capital want to avoid any sharp confrontation. I think they've learned lessons from their experience with Cuba and OPEC.

Still, business' constant railing against language legislation and "economic uncertainty" has had some effects already. I think one of the reasons the recent polls show a small decline in support for the PQ is the legitimate fear

of many that sovereignty will bring economic problems.

### Could a capital strike by business in Quebec and by outside investors push the PQ to the left?

In a certain way, I'd like to see that. Certainly capitalist blackmail changed the Cuban revolution. But a more likely scenario in Quebec than a more left-leaning government in the near future is the granting of some form of independence to Quebec.

As I said before, they've learned their lessons. There's no question there are "Sun Life" types around who would like to use their economic power to overthrow the government, but I don't think they are ones calling the shots. [The Sun Life Insurance Co. announced that it is leaving Quebec.]

### Why does the Canadian and American business class see their interests threatened by Quebec independence?

Well, partly it's irrational. I mean, why was it so hard to overcome slavery in the U.S. when it was known capitalism was a more efficient system?

### Isn't the social democratic nature of the PQ—if they can keep labor in line—more advantageous to capitalism in the long run?

Well, yes, in the long term, social democracy is not a threat to capitalist interests. But in the short term, business worries about the minor dislocations which can occur under that kind of government.

### Limits on the PQ.

**To what extent have the key promises in the PQ platform been kept?**

There's no question that the PQ government has not fulfilled some of its promises. But I think it's been exactly the kind of government one could expect. Because they are working in the capitalist system, there are limitations to what it can do. They face constraints already faced by the NDP in Canada and the Labour party in Britain.

They are under constant threat of capital outflow and of economic "uncertainty." They also face a bureaucracy which at certain levels is very independent of the government. This independence helped the PQ when the Liberals were in power, but now almost the reverse is true.

### What do you think of the proliferation of national unity groups across Canada and in Quebec?

I think we're going to see a flood of millions of dollars of propaganda in the months ahead. That's unfortunate because it's creating a paranoia among English-Canadians which is entirely unjustified. They view sovereignty as a sort of major surgery like having a lung removed. And I think the federal government has a lot to do with that.

Also, I think the English-Canadian left has been negligent on this issue. The NDP talks a bit about "self-determination" but then some NDP leader like David Lewis gets up and calls Montreal his home city and says he won't see it taken away. This is too bad because, even as moderate a left party as NDP is never going to get people thinking along class lines so long as there is this preoccupation with language and national unity.

### Who will win the upcoming referendum?

I think the PQ faces an uphill struggle. There will be an incredible coalition of forces arrayed against it and the party is not as strong as in 1976. Still, I can't see them getting less than a third of the vote with a position of the anglophones regarding the referendum. The referendum is only part of a long-term process. Anybody who thinks defeat of that nationalist position in the referendum will mean anything significant doesn't know Quebec.

## IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except for the fourth week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc. 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Illinois.

### EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, Editor, M.J. Sklar, Associate Editor, Doyle Niemann, Managing Editor, John Judis, Foreign News Editor, Janet Stevenson, Cultural Editor, Dan Marschall, David Moberg, National Staff, Diana Johnstone (Paris), Mervyn Jones (London), Bruce Vandervort (Geneva), Foreign Correspondents, Elizabeth Price, Editorial Assistant, Bill Burr, Keenen Peck, Steve Ross-wurm, Librarians.

### ART

Kerry Tremain, Art Director, Tom Greensfelder, Associate Art Director, Nori Davis, Assistant Art Director, Jim Rinnert, Composition, Pam Rice, Camera, Ken Firestone, Photographer.

### BUSINESS

William Sennett, James Weinstein, Co-publishers, Nick Rabkin, General Manager, Ellen Deidre Murphy, Advertising/Business, Jan Czarnik, Circulation Manager.

### BUREAUS

SAN FRANCISCO: Chris Dorr, 140 Sanchez St., San Francisco, CA 94114, (415) 626-7897. SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 110, Atlanta, GA 30308 (404) 881-1689. NEW YORK: George Carrano, Jon Fisher, 784 Columbus Ave., New York, NY 10025, (212) 865-7638. BOSTON: Sid Blumenthal, 123 Oxford St., Cambridge, MA 02140, (617) 864-8689.

### SPONSORS

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Hugh DeLacy, G. William Domhoff, Douglas Dowd, David Du Bois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Frances Putnam Fritchman, Stephen Fritchman, Barbara Garson, Eugene D. Genovese, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams, Herbert Marcuse, David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Jessie Lloyd O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, Derek Shearer, Warren Susman, E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack Jr.

The entire contents of IN THESE TIMES is copyright ©1978 by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc., and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission from the publisher. All rights reserved. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. Subscriptions, address changes, and adjustments should be sent to IN THESE TIMES, Circulation Department. Subscriptions are \$17.50/year. Advertising rates sent on request. All letters received by IN THESE TIMES become the property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second class postage paid at Chicago, Illinois.



# Who'll pay in inflation fight?

By Dan Marshall

As the government announced the latest rise in consumer prices, a flurry of activity was going on behind the scenes. At the White House President Carter and his top advisors exercised their "jawboning" muscles. In Wall Street office buildings corporate executives issued pious pronouncements about how they planned to trim anticipated raises in their \$900,000-plus salaries. And in union halls across the country, labor leaders discussed strategy for evading government pressures and winning at the bargaining table the wage increases their members expect.

The target of these efforts was the newly-declared number one enemy of "The American Way of Life"—inflation.

Right now the enemy is strong and advancing. The Labor Department revealed May 31 that consumer prices, pushed by a big boost in beef prices, rose .9 percent in April, or at a 10.3 percent annual rate. This is the first time in four years that the inflation rate has jumped into the double-digit column. In the first three months of this year the CPI increased 9.3 percent, presaging a round of inflation equivalent to that during the 1974-75 recession.

## Administration prepared.

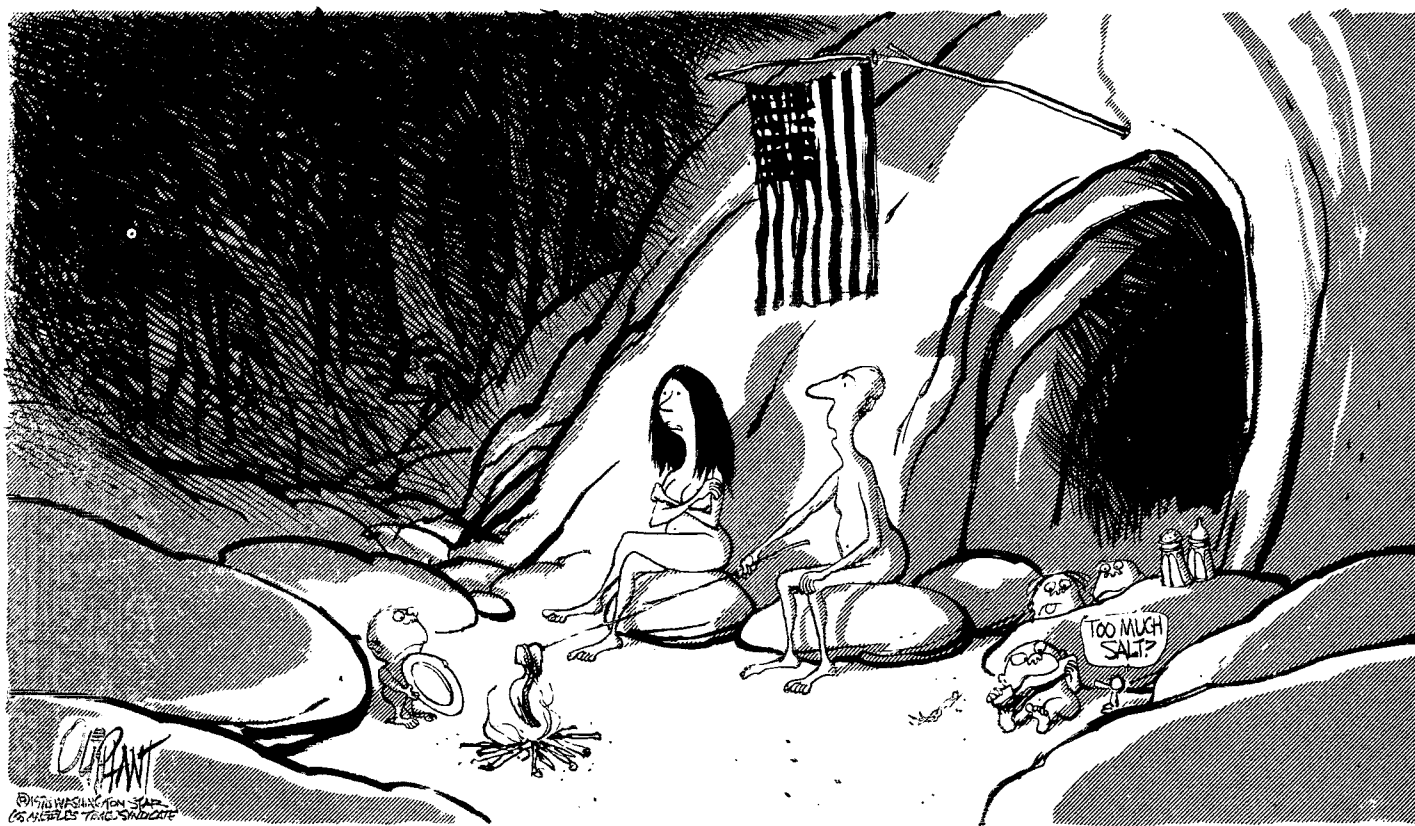
The Carter administration, which had already begun to deploy its inflation-fighting forces, was at least nominally prepared for the bad news. Last April Carter declared that combating inflation now would be the top priority of his administration. He then unveiled a warmed-over program to limit wage-price increases through voluntary restraint by labor and management.

Calling on government, industry and labor to "sacrifice for the common good," Carter singled out workers' wages as the first target. Federal white collar employees, who are scheduled to receive about a 6.5 percent pay raise in October, should get only 5.5 percent, Carter proposed, to set an example for the private sector. When labor unions approach contract negotiations, he added, they should look at their average wage boosts over the past two years and shoot for a figure below that amount.

"Let me be blunt about this point," Carter said, emphasizing his new, semi-tough attitude toward the so-called wage-price spiral. "I am asking American workers to follow the example of federal workers and accept a lower rate of wage increase. In return they have a right to expect a comparable restraint in price increases for the goods and services they buy."

Carter's heightened concern about inflation reflects the growing consensus among politicians, business leaders and economists that inflation represents a grave threat to the stability of American capitalism. As working people lose confidence in the dollar, corporate interests fear, they feel cheated and begin to question the validity of the entire system. Inflation is not only a threat to long-term economic growth, a *Business Week* editorial warned recently, but also "to the basic structure of American society."

Furthermore, the professional economists don't seem to know what to do about it. "I sense that the economists... are obsessed with what worked in the '50s and '60s," complained Walt Rostow, a former advisor to Presidents Kennedy



"...SO I SAID TO HIM, 'CERTAINLY, I'D LOVE TO JOIN YOUR WAR ON INFLATION—HOW MUCH DOES IT PAY?'"

## Carter's new concern about inflation reflects the growing consensus among politicians, business leaders and economists that inflation is the greatest threat to the stability of American capitalism.

and Johnson, in a recent interview. "And they are in great danger of producing a protracted period of stagflation (high unemployment and high inflation), with a loss of social and political cohesion that will damage the prospects of our own society as well as the prospects for the developing world. As happened between the wars, that could unhinge the strategic balance."

## Popular concern.

Inflation is apparently uppermost in the minds of the American people. According to a late-April public opinion poll, 50 percent of those questioned believe that the economic situation will worsen in the next six months. In a *New York Times/CBS News* poll, 63 percent cited inflation as the most bothersome problem. Only 5 percent named unemployment.

This shift in popular sentiment has increased the political heat under Carter and congressional representatives, who are strengthening their anti-inflation rhetoric, looking for appropriate scapegoats, and scrambling for solutions to quell constituent pressures.

While different political forces disagree on the exact prescription for curing inflation, they have reached some unanimity on its historic roots. "Two of the biggest mistakes of recent economic policy came about as presidents pursued covert policies and concealed priorities," a political scientist admitted to *Business Week*.

In 1965-66 President Johnson chose to hide the cost of the Vietnam buildup to avoid jeopardizing his Great Society programs. Instead of raising taxes to cover increased military spending, he generated a multi-billion dollar federal budget deficit that exists to this day. When the head of the Federal Reserve Board allowed the money supply to expand, inflation shot up.

The situation was exacerbated by President Nixon, who declared a wage-price freeze in August 1971 and followed up with stimulative economic policies designed to thrust him into the White House for a second term with a large electoral mandate. When controls expired in mid-

1974, wages and prices soared, resulting in inflation that topped 12 percent during the 1974-75 recession.

The economy has recovered gradually since then, but business complains that most of the growth has been in consumer spending rather than in capital investment, the main prerequisite, they say, for "long-term growth and price stability." Because of the last winter's severe weather, the rise in food prices and other factors, inflation again is heading over the 10 percent mark.

## Drop in productivity.

The precipitous drop in workers' productivity is another cause of the new inflation. Unless pay increases are accompanied by advancing productivity, labor costs per unit of production rise. This rise is reflected either in higher consumer prices or decreased company profits.

From 1967 to '77 average hourly pay of American workers increased about 120 percent. The average hourly output at the same time went up only about 20 percent. As a result labor costs increased about 60 percent. In the first four months of this year, according to Labor Department figures, labor costs rose 18.3 percent—the highest quarterly increase in 27 years.

Business tends to blame this productivity drop on the influx of women and young, unskilled workers into the workforce. While this is a factor, an economist at American University has discovered a more fundamental cause: the expansion of investment abroad by multinational corporations. According to Ronald Muller, co-author of *Global Reach*, the decision of American corporations in the last decade to invest overseas rather than expand domestic capacity has had a negative impact on the efficiency of American industry.

"By avoiding direct export competition in the international arena," Muller speculates, "U.S. manufacturers may have lost a major spur for innovation and modernization in their domestic operations."

Business leaders have paid little atten-

tion to Muller's thesis. They, on the other hand, view the main reason for this productivity dip to be government regulations regarding environmental pollution and worker health and safety that compel them to invest in equipment that does not yield higher production. Their answer to inflation is to cut back these "uneconomical" regulations.

Robert Strauss, Carter's special counselor on inflation, has reportedly raised the possibility of cutting the costs of environmental safeguards and consumer-product safety regulations if business agrees to restrain prices.

Organized labor, however, says that the best way to cut the costs of both business and government is through policies that promote full employment. Putting people back to work, notes Rudy Oswald, the AFL-CIO's chief economist, results in "higher levels of use of operating capacity" and a reduction in welfare and unemployment. This helps both to raise productivity and reduce government expenditures.

Business and labor do agree on what *not* to do to solve inflation: invoke mandatory wage-price controls. Labor, citing the experience with controls under Nixon, is especially adamant in its opposition. While wage increases were held to a 5.5 percent ceiling during the "wage freeze," corporate profits rose 28 percent and the CPI jumped 18 percent, according to AFL-CIO calculations. When controls were lifted, the buying power of a working family had declined 7 percent from two years earlier. (*ITT*, Dec. 6, 1976.)

Many labor leaders, despite Carter's declarations to the contrary, interpret his voluntary program as the first step toward controls. The AFL-CIO has refused to commit its constituent unions to any specific limit on wage increases. (Such a commitment is outside of George Meany's powers anyway because broader economic factors and intra-union pressures ordinarily determine the wage increases demanded by unions in contract negotiations.)

Nonetheless, the pressure for some sort of "incomes policy" is building. A recent public opinion poll found that 50 percent of those questioned favor wage-price controls, the same percentage that backed controls just before Nixon invoked them and during the worst inflationary period of 1974.

The Congressional Joint Economic committee recently expressed the fear that more stringent controls may be necessary unless swift progress is made in combating inflation. In anticipation of such an action, some businesses reportedly are raising prices.

William Miller, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, predicts that in the absence of an effective inflation-fighting program, the "Fed" will eventually be forced to tighten monetary policy, thereby inducing a slowdown in economic growth and a rise in unemployment.

President Carter is stuck on the razor-sharp horns of a political/economic dilemma. Mandatory controls have not only been shown to be ineffective, but also would damage his standing with labor and management. Traditional economic policies to counter inflation—an economic slowdown—would increase already-high unemployment. Unless he acts fast, a major recession with continued stagflation is on the horizon for 1979-80. ■



## IN THE NATION

## Anti-gay tide not turned in Eugene

By Stefan Ostrach

EUGENE, ORE.

**G**AY RIGHTS SUPPORTERS had hoped to turn the tide here. They thought they had a chance in "mellow" Eugene to reverse the trend that has seen voters in Dade County, Fla., St. Paul, Minn., and Wichita, Kan., deny civil rights protection to homosexuals.

Eugene has a national reputation as a liberal college town—"Sprout City." The cultural and economic influence of the 15,000 student University of Oregon is strong, although it does not really dominate this city of 100,000.

The city has grown rapidly since WWII. Much of the workforce came from Oklahoma, Arkansas, the Midwest, and the South to the area's mills, canneries, factories and offices.

While Oregon has the lowest rate of church membership in the nation, the strongest and most active church members in Eugene are conservative fundamentalists. It was in these congregations that the anti-gay forces found their base.

Last October, a group of gay professionals and business people successfully lobbied the Eugene City Council to add "sexual orientation" to the already protected categories of "religion, sex, national origin, physical or mental handicap, marital status, or age," under the city's Human Rights Ordinance. The 5-3 council vote would have banned discrimination against gays in housing, employment and public accommodations.

The gay rights proponents had underestimated the backlash, however, and had failed to build public support. The morning after the city council vote, anti-gays organized VOICE of the People and began circulating petitions to put the matter to a referendum. Within a week VOICE had gathered 10,000 signatures, and the sexual orientation amendment was put on the May 23 primary election ballot as Measure No. 51. Gay rights supporters formed the Eugene Committee for Human Rights (ECHR).

The campaign was vigorous. Both sides used radio and newspaper ads, and door-to-door canvassing. VOICE, which had support and funding from conservative, anti-union business people in the area, argued that the gay rights amendment would give "special privileges" to gay people. Their ads quoted the Bible and claimed support for the provision would imply community approval of immoral behavior. They claimed that gays needed no special protection.

ECHR raised twice as much money as did VOICE, and mounted a sophisticated advertising campaign to educate people about homosexuality and the harassment that gays often suffer.

Both sides resisted the temptations to bring in outsiders. VOICE asked Anita Bryant to stay away, although they echoed her "Save Our Children" theme with the slogan, "If not for your sake, then for your children." Following the gay rights defeats in St. Paul and Wichita, ECHR's publicity stressed, "This is Eugene. And in Eugene discrimination has no place."

Voter turnout was extremely high for a non-presidential primary election. Measure No. 51 was what brought the voters out. Nearly 99 percent of those who showed up at the polls voted on the issue.

When the votes were counted, the margin was 62-37 percent against gay rights.

Observers at the polls noted a high turnout of middle-aged and older citizens and

*Continued on page 18.*



Three years after they were charged, and one year after their trial began, Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk were finally set free.

## AIM activist freed after year-long trial

By Michael Curtin

LOS ANGELES

**F**OR MORE THAN THREE AND A half years two leaders of the American Indian Movement have been kept in jail here while they fought murder charges that they believe were politically motivated harassment.

Finally, on May 24, a jury of eight women and four men ruled that Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk were innocent. One of the longest and most expensive trials in California history had ended, but not the ordeal of Skyhorse and Mohawk. District Attorney Louis Samonsky said that the two AIM activists would be kept in custody on out-of-state charges. Although Skyhorse and Mohawk were eventually released on bond, their future remains cloudy.

The case began in the late night hours of Oct. 10, 1974, when Marvin Redshirt, Holly Broussard and Marcie Eaglestaff decided it was time to leave a party at actor David Carradine's house. They called

a cab to take them to AIM Camp 13 in Box Canyon, just north of Los Angeles. En route to the camp an argument with the driver erupted about how the fare was to be paid.

What happened when the cab arrived at its destination can only be speculated, but in the early morning hours of Oct. 11 an autopsy was performed on the body of cab driver George Aird, found stuffed in a drain-pipe at the camp.

A blood-soaked white slip over his head and a blue bandana wrapped around his neck, Aird had been beaten, tortured and stabbed the night before. A police investigation at the scene turned up a bloody knife in the purse of Broussard and another blood-stained knife in a nearby firesite.

The three riders in the cab were taken into custody with blood on their clothes. The slip over Aird's head was identified as belonging to Holly Broussard and the bandana would later be identified as the one Marcie Eaglestaff was seen wearing prior to the slaying. Redshirt, when arrested, could only explain the lacerations and blood on his hands by saying he had

"been skinning some animals."

Skyhorse and Mohawk, who were at the camp that night, took flight when they learned of the slaying, explaining at their trial, "It has been the tragic experience of our people to expect the worst from law enforcement... We knew there was serious trouble and that we would be implicated just because we were Indians living at the camp."

Not only were they implicated, but Skyhorse and Mohawk became the focus of the prosecution's case. After two years of legal gymnastics, their trial was assigned to the court of Judge Floyd Dodson. Dodson received the appointment in the wake of a landslide election forcing him from office.

Unfortunately for Skyhorse and Mohawk, Dodson was rescued by his colleagues and given a special appointment to their case. His interest in dragging out the proceedings could not be denied.

The trial began June 1, 1977. The eight-month presentation of District Attorney Louis Samonsky showed no physical evidence linking the defendants to the murder.

*Continued on page 18.*

## Second try brings arrests at Trident

By Dean Patton

BANGOR, WASH.

**I**T TOOK AN EXTRA NIGHT OF CAMPING in the drizzle, but 300 people kept to their goal and forced reluctant federal officials to charge them with trespassing at the Trident nuclear submarine base here.

The demonstration against the Navy's super-subs began Sunday, May 21, when an estimated 4,000 people gathered in a friendly farmer's cow pasture for a rally, then a parade past the base, one and a half miles down the road. They carried signs, banners—and a massive flag of the United Nations—to call attention to the UN's Special Session on Disarmament, scheduled to begin two days later.

About 1,000 people pitched tents and spent the night in the pasture, then arose at 4:30 a.m. and returned to the base. Affinity groups spread along the front of the base while 290 persons, vowing "to remain on the base until Trident is stopped or until arrested—whichever comes first," scaled the simple barbed-wire fence and proceeded to a sloping, grass-covered knoll visible to supporters.

It took civilian security guards, under

contract with Pan American World Airways by the base, about two hours to remove the last of the cheering participants and transport them by bus to a base gymnasium. After several more hours of fingerprinting and booking, the buses transported everyone to Tacoma, a city about an hour south of Bangor, for what demonstrators thought would be appearances before a federal magistrate.

"Instead, the government singled out five people, who had previous trespassing convictions, and turned the remaining 285 loose on the streets," said Amy Hagopian, spokesperson for the demonstration umbrella organization, the May 22 Coalition. "People were tired, 60 miles from their camps, and rain was the forecast. The government just wanted to dissipate us, keep the action low-key."

Reluctantly, and with some confusion, the group's decision-making body scheduled a meeting for Tuesday morning at a four-acre piece of land adjacent to the massive Trident base. Some protesters had already returned to Seattle, others were asleep in Tacoma—and it was raining as people hurried to again erect their tents.

But next morning the sun was out. People returned from Seattle and Tacoma

and were excited by the scene: The affinity group structure was operating, spokespeople meeting and decisions getting made.

A consensus was reached to return to the base.

"The government is in a no-win situation," said Bob Bradac, still a bit sleepy, waiting to return to the base. "Either they let us keep going into the place, and using it for our purposes, or they arrest us, plug the courts and jails, and blow their low-key cool."

About 700 now marched back to the base, and 300 went back over the fence.

Half were taken to Tacoma, the rest to Seattle. All were charged and released later that evening.

"I'd expected to be a kind of political tool," Jerry Meszaros, one of those charged with trespass, said after release from jail. "I wasn't. There was something there. Real power. It came from within, from all around me, from everyone."

"I'm a carpenter," he said. "I'm proud of what I can do with my hands. Individually, I've got the skill and strength to build houses. Or, I can take apart a submarine base. Just might take a few more people, that's all."

*Dean Patton is a Washington-based writer.*



By Chip Hughes and Len Stanley

**N**EXT TIME YOU OPEN A BAG of Fritos or a pack of cigarettes, think about Marvin Gaddy. Marvin has worked in Olin Corporation's film division for more than 20 years making cellophane wrapping. He can't see as well as he used to and still gets nightmares once in a while. But he's luckier than some of his fellow workers on the second floor of the Olin plant in Brevard, N.C., on the edge of the Pisgah National Forest.

Olin's film division produces viscose, which is extruded, solidified and dried to form cellophane. Twelve massive vats are kept in constant rotation, each mixing together 100 to 300 pounds of ripened alkali cellulose (raw wood pulp and 16 percent caustic acid).

Marvin used to add carbon disulfide ( $CS_2$ ) to the rotating vats to quicken the process of breaking down the raw wood pulp into a liquid cellophane-like mixture. Nobody ever told Marvin and his fellow workers that the carbon disulfide could harm them.

"A lot of people would leave," says Marvin. "The younger ones would come in there, work a few days, and then they'd invariably get a big whiff of  $CS_2$ . People would act real unusual, get headaches and think they were getting the flu. After a few overdoses, the nightmares would start coming on them."

"We'd go in and tell the company. 'Dammit, you'd better do something about this  $CS_2$  stuff.' They'd tell us to get the hell out: 'We don't need you. If you don't enjoy your job, then go home.'"

"Course we didn't have a union back then. And we didn't have Jimmy Reese rummaging through their trashcans and filing all those grievances and complaints."

James Reese is a maintenance man at the Olin plant and chairman of the union safety committee for Local 1971 of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU).

Olin workers had to stand up and fight for more than 30 years before they got the union in at Olin. The battle left a trail of beaten-up organizers, fired union sympathizers, and heart-breaking, one-vote Labor Board election defeats.

Finally, in 1971, the union won a contract that included a safety committee of company and union representatives. For the past five years, the committee has investigated numerous toxic substances: asbestos, carbon disulfide, formaldehyde, tetrahydrofuran, flax dust, noise, radiation, methyl bromide.

"I had learned the OSHA standards even before we got our union organized, till I almost had them memorized," recalls James Reese. "I was just kind of interested. It represented a kind of challenge to me because I've seen some of the conditions up there and I've been hurt on the job myself."

"I'm not sure what set me off. I think it's just the fact that I'm a kind of militant type of character and this way, for once, I had something that they had to listen to. I finally had a law to back me up."

### The OSHA tool

Congress passed the Williams-Steiger Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970 in response to escalating on-the-job injury rates and intense pressure from national unions. The act created The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) within the Labor Department, with responsibility for inspecting the workplace for hazards and imposing penalties of up to \$10,000 when unsafe conditions were uncovered.

In addition, the act gave rights to affected workers to assist OSHA in cleaning up their plants. These workers' rights are the most important aspect of the law, because unions and employees cannot depend on the chronically under-staffed and under-financed OSHA to initiate enforcement. Workers can file a complaint requesting an unannounced inspection, accompany the OSHA inspector during his or her inspection, demand an investigation of potentially harmful substances, and challenge the amount of time given a company to clean up recognized hazards.

James Reese: "Back in September '72 I heard from people that the company was

## OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY

# OSHA is a life and death matter at Olin plant

Workers would come in here, work a few days, and then they'd invariably get a big whiff of  $CS_2$ . People would act real unusual. After a few doses the nightmares would begin.



gonna be doing these noise tests, so I went up with them to see what was going on. This guy got on me pretty hot. He tried to get rid of me, and we got into a regular cuss fight over it. He says, 'You get out of here. You got no business in here.' I says back, 'I represent all the people in this union as their safety man.' He kicked me out of there, but I filed a grievance on it."

"I got all fired up. I threatened to file charges with the federal government through OSHA on it. Well, that scared them, so they sent it up to the highest corporate levels. Pretty soon, a letter comes back from the higher-ups saying that we can watch any of their tests and also get all the records of what they find. And that's what I was doing, getting it all down on paper to show what their real attitude is toward safety and health—in spite of those big awards they got plas-

tered all over the cafeteria walls and their reputation as a safe company."

The National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) was set up by Congress in 1970 as the research arm for OSHA. At an employee's request, NIOSH inspectors will determine whether any toxic substance found in the workplace is causing harmful effects. Unfortunately, NIOSH does not have enforcement powers.

In July 1973 a NIOSH industrial hygienist came to Olin's Pisgah Forest plant to investigate  $CS_2$ . The NIOSH team went to the second floor and observed the leaky gaskets and pipes, and the air vacuums that clogged every once in a while.

They also tested to see how much carbon disulfide was in the air when the big vats were opened for scraping. The dials of the NIOSH equipment went up as high

## Supreme Court makes OSHA's job more difficult

By Tom Young

**T**HE SUPREME COURT, IN A decision announced May 23, has dealt another blow to the already beleaguered Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA). The Court ordered OSHA to cease making factory inspections without a court-ordered warrant.

The case involved arose in Pocatello, Idaho, when Frank Barlow, a plumbing contractor, refused to allow OSHA inspectors into his business establishment. Barlow is a member of the John Birch Society, which has been conducting a campaign against OSHA for several years. Barlow's defense was joined by the American Conservative Union and U.S. Chamber of Commerce and became something of a New Right *cause celebre*.

Although it overturned warrantless inspections, the Court majority allowed rather broad grounds for seeking warrants. For example, the Court said, the statement of an OSHA official that a workplace was in a particularly dangerous industry would be adequate grounds for issuing a warrant.

OSHA might be able to incorporate

securing warrants into its normal inspection procedure and act much as before the decision, though the increased paperwork and costs will tax the already overburdened agency. Moves are already underway to add 100 to 150 new lawyers to OSHA's staff.

Many observers expect problems, however. Eula Bingham, Under-Secretary of Labor for OSHA, echoed the Supreme Court, saying she believed that "the great majority of businessmen can be expected to consent to inspection without warrant." But Anthony Mazzocchi, Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers (OCAW) vice-president, expects employers to demand warrants as a matter of course: "We already have total resistance; the Supreme Court action is a license for dilatory action."

Mazzocchi also points out that delays currently run three years between initial inspection and actual payment of penalties.

George Taylor, secretary of the AFL-CIO standing committee on OSHA, foresees Chambers of Commerce promoting a pro forma denial of entry, clogging the courts with appeals. "We haven't begun to see the jam up," he says.

Continued on page 6.

as they could—288 parts per million (ppm). The OSHA standard for carbon disulfide is 20 ppm.

### A variety of disorders.

Three months later, NIOSH sent down a physician to do a follow-up medical survey on neurological problems with the workers on the second floor. He interviewed 29 men. Most of them complained about recurring nightmares, abdominal pains, headaches, dizziness and insomnia. He summed up his findings with a short statement: "A number of bizarre neurological findings were noted." Among his findings were the following:

•A 34-year-old man worked 14½ years in the chemical building prior to his transfer. He has a several-year history of numbness, pains and tingling involving the right side of his face. A neurological consultant for the company diagnosed him with "a typical facial neuralgia."

•A 44-year-old man with 22 years exposure. He has been on leave from work for two years with a vague arthritis-like ailment.

•A 37-year-old man with 16 years exposure had the onset of a convulsive disorder two years ago, beginning with a three-day period of status epilepticus. His doctor told him his seizure was due to a "swelled blood vessel in the temporal area." An extensive report by a neurological consultant hired by the company indicates no such finding to explain the onset of his epilepsy. He is currently depressed by his downgraded position (janitor). His neurological exam was normal.

"That last guy you read about, that was Jimmy Massey," explained Bert McColl, who suffers himself from a rare form of hipbone decay that makes walking difficult. "Massey got this stuff worse than anybody. They called it epileptic fits for a long time so they wouldn't have to pay no workers' compensation to him. First time it happened, he was just sitting there eating supper with his wife and kids. Then he started having a fit. So the company said, 'If it just happened at home, then it couldn't have anything to do with his work.' Later on, they found all the tumors."

"Jimmy Massey is still barely living over near Canton. They give him a few more months before the cancer will eat up his brain. His wife just had a baby recently. The family started runnin' out of money with all the medical bills they had to pay, so the company put Jimmy back to work again. They put him on the janitor crew, going around the plant picking up trash. He'd wander round and round not even knowing what he's supposed to do. He'd sit around by the time clock without even knowing when he should punch out."

At the end of April 1974 NIOSH finally released its health hazard evaluation report for the  $CS_2$ . The evidence showed that acute exposures to carbon disulfide had been occurring episodically and these exposures provoked the symptoms in the Olin workers.

However, the report said, "there does not appear to be sufficient medical evidence at this time to warrant a conclusion that chronic exposure is occurring in a sufficient degree to provoke illness. Without question, several atypical and unexplained illnesses were encountered during the study. Time may eventually resolve these diagnostic problems."

The report concluded: "It is difficult to postulate that such diverse and asymmetric neurological problems are due to common exposure to toxic substances or due to some unusual personal susceptibility. Local problems of this type are probably related to chance distribution."

Marvin Gaddy: "That's all wrong. We can definitely show you why at least 12 out of these 24 people have all these weird problems. They all worked with the  $CS_2$ . You see, it's really a nerve gas, at least that's what they used it for back in the war. The stuff goes about working on the weakest nerves that you got. Now, my nerves and Bert's are different. He can't walk or move around the way he used to; I can't see too good."

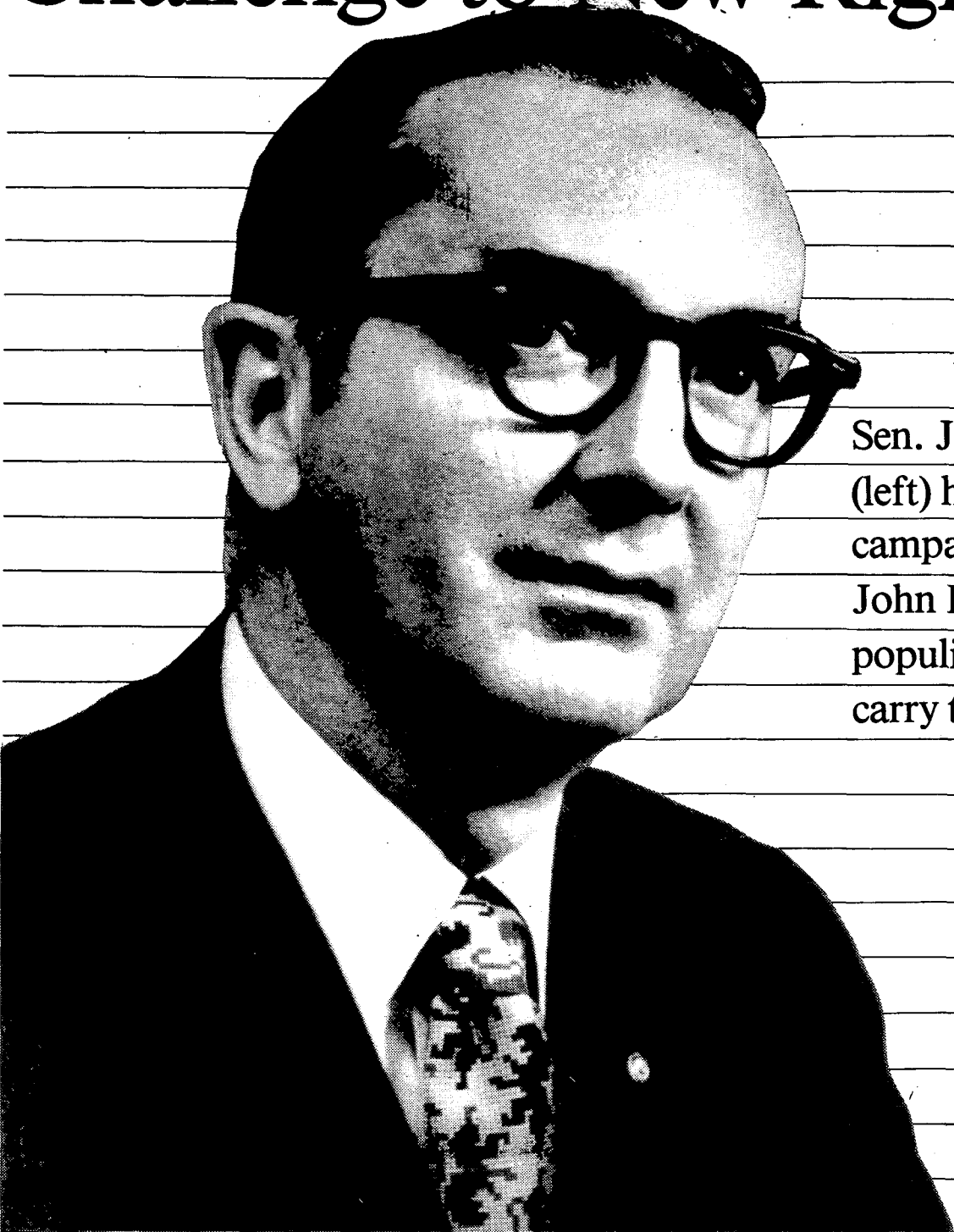
After the NIOSH study was released, some small changes occurred around the Olin plant. At least there were some written records showing what the carbon

Continued on page 18.



## ELECTIONS

## Challenge to New Right in N.C.



Sen. Jesse Helms, (left) has an immense campaign fund, but John Ingram's populism may still carry the day.

By Bob McMahon

**T**HE AGGRESSIVE NEW RIGHT faces an important test in North Carolina's U.S. Senate race this fall. Senator Jesse Helms, a Republican, will face Democrat John Ingram in a battle pitting the right's social issues against populist economics.

Helms, 66, a former television commentator, has emerged since his 1972 election as a leading voice of the New Right. Not uncommonly voting in a minority of one or two in the Senate, he is widely known in his home state as "Senator No."

Helms has been a Senate leader in efforts to cut federal funding for abortion and to seek a constitutional amendment banning abortions. Last September he offered his own refinement of the techniques of McCarthyism with a "hearing"—unsanctioned by any committee—into the Houston International Women's Year Conference. The hearing proved a selective forum for Right-to-Life and Stop ERA forces to denounce the IWY meeting as dominated by "feminists, radicals and lesbians."

In foreign affairs, Helms helped lead the fight against the Panama Canal Treaty. He is recognized as one of the main congressional defenders of South Africa and the Chilean junta. On a 1976 visit to Santiago he was full of praise for the "dynamic" General Pinochet.

As the Senate takes up labor law reform, Helms is at the forefront of the filibuster against the measure. He is a consistent opponent of unions, having backed measures to deny food stamps to strikers and to extend right-to-work laws nationwide.

#### Reagan backer.

Helms began this uncompromising voting record as soon as he appeared in the Senate. He drew national notice in 1975 as one of the members of a group of right-wingers who threatened to bolt the Republicans for a new conservative party if the 1976 candidate and platform did not satisfy them.

In March 1976 Helms and his allies engineered Ronald Reagan's North Carolina primary victory over Gerald Ford. The win, coming after a string of losses, helped keep Reagan in the race and pushed the tone of the national election toward

the right.

Coming up for re-election, few North Carolina observers underestimate the strength of his position.

Helms' strength is somewhat independent of that of the state's Republican party. While he owes his election to the Nixon landslide, Helms has a substantial base of his own among voters in traditionally Democratic eastern North Carolina. He built this base as a television commentator in Raleigh during the 1960s, when he was a leading spokesman of resistance to desegregation.

North Carolina's Republican party is in weak shape, devastated by losses in the 1974 Watergate aftermath, which destroyed decades of gradual growth. While the party has not yet begun to recoup its losses on the state and local levels, the Republican vote, along with Democratic crossovers, could provide Helms a winning majority.

Helms' campaign certainly will not suffer for lack of money. National fundraising has been pursued for nearly a year in preparation for the re-election effort. Over \$3.5 million has been raised so far, much of it plowed immediately into further solicitation efforts by New Right

direct mail artist Richard Viguerie.

Besides Viguerie's direct mail efforts, the Helms campaign has also received important amounts of money from business lobbying groups, corporate political action committees, the American Medical Association's political fund, and the Right to Bear Arms Victory Fund, and a host of other conservative sources.

Within North Carolina Helms has been favored by extensive donations from executives of the state's furniture, textile and construction industries, perhaps in reward for his unremitting hostility to unions. (The non-union textile and furniture industries now exhibit a siege mentality in the face of AFL-CIO organizing drives, while the Associated General Contractors of North Carolina is acknowledged as a leading force in efforts nationwide to weaken trades unions.)

#### Populist opponent.

Helms' Democratic opponent, N.C. Insurance Commissioner John Ingram, demonstrated his ability as a campaigner in an upset over primary opponent Luther Hodges Jr. May 30. Ingram, running a heated populist campaign, accused his opponent of being the candidate of the special interests and monopolies.

Hodges, son of a former governor, had resigned as chairman of the board of North Carolina National Bank, the state's largest, to run for senator. In a campaign typical of North Carolina's "progressive plutocracy," Hodges stressed his business experience as an asset in working for the state's economic development. Nationally syndicated columnist Germand Witcover summed up his campaign as "jobs, jobs and more jobs."

Ingram ran hard on his record as a consumer advocate in the Insurance Commission, pledging to be a "people's representative in Washington." During his term as Insurance Commissioner Ingram repeatedly battled with the industry over rate hikes, age and sex discrimination and other consumer issues. After he survived a reelection campaign against the lavishly financed opponent in 1976, insurance lobbyists pushed through legislation stripping Ingram of much of his regulatory power.

Ingram made insurance an important part of his Senate campaign, calling for an end to current exemption of the industry from federal anti-trust regulation. Outspent nearly 20 to one by Hodges in the campaign, Ingram also made his opponent's financial backing from the banking industry an issue in the campaign.

In the first primary, with a field of eight candidates, Hodges drew 40 percent of the vote to Ingram's 26 percent. A month later in the runoff, Ingram had taken over the lead, 54 percent to Hodges' 46 percent.

The New Right has claimed the Sunbelt as the most receptive ground for their political issues. Ingram's success in coming from far behind on a shoestring budget suggests that North Carolina voters just might be ready to listen to something else.

Bob McMahon writes frequently for *IN THESE TIMES* from North Carolina.

## OSHA and the Court

Continued from page 6.

The Court's decision in the Barlow case is only the latest in a series of roadblocks and stumbles OSHA has suffered. Forced on a reluctant Nixon administration by Congress in 1970, the agency was ineptly led, at times it appeared by design. Small businessmen, mobilized by a masterful right-wing press campaign based in part on OSHA's real faults, have provided a mass constituency for corporate attacks on OSHA standards and rule making. Numerous bills have been introduced in Congress to restrict or abolish the agency.

A current example of the obstacles

placed in OSHA's path is its standard for cotton dust. The same day as the Barlow decision was announced, the *New York Times* reported that the standard, set for publication May 31, had been delayed by order of the Council of Economic Advisers and the Council on Wage and Price Stability (COWPS).

The standard has been repeatedly postponed, beginning in 1972 when George Guenther, then head of OSHA, blocked any action on cotton dust until after the election.

The *Times* quoted Charles Schultze, chair of the Council of Economic Advis-

ers, as stating that regulations must "not impose unnecessary or uneconomic costs on American industry." That costs must therefore be imposed on textile workers in the form of disease and early death was left unstated.

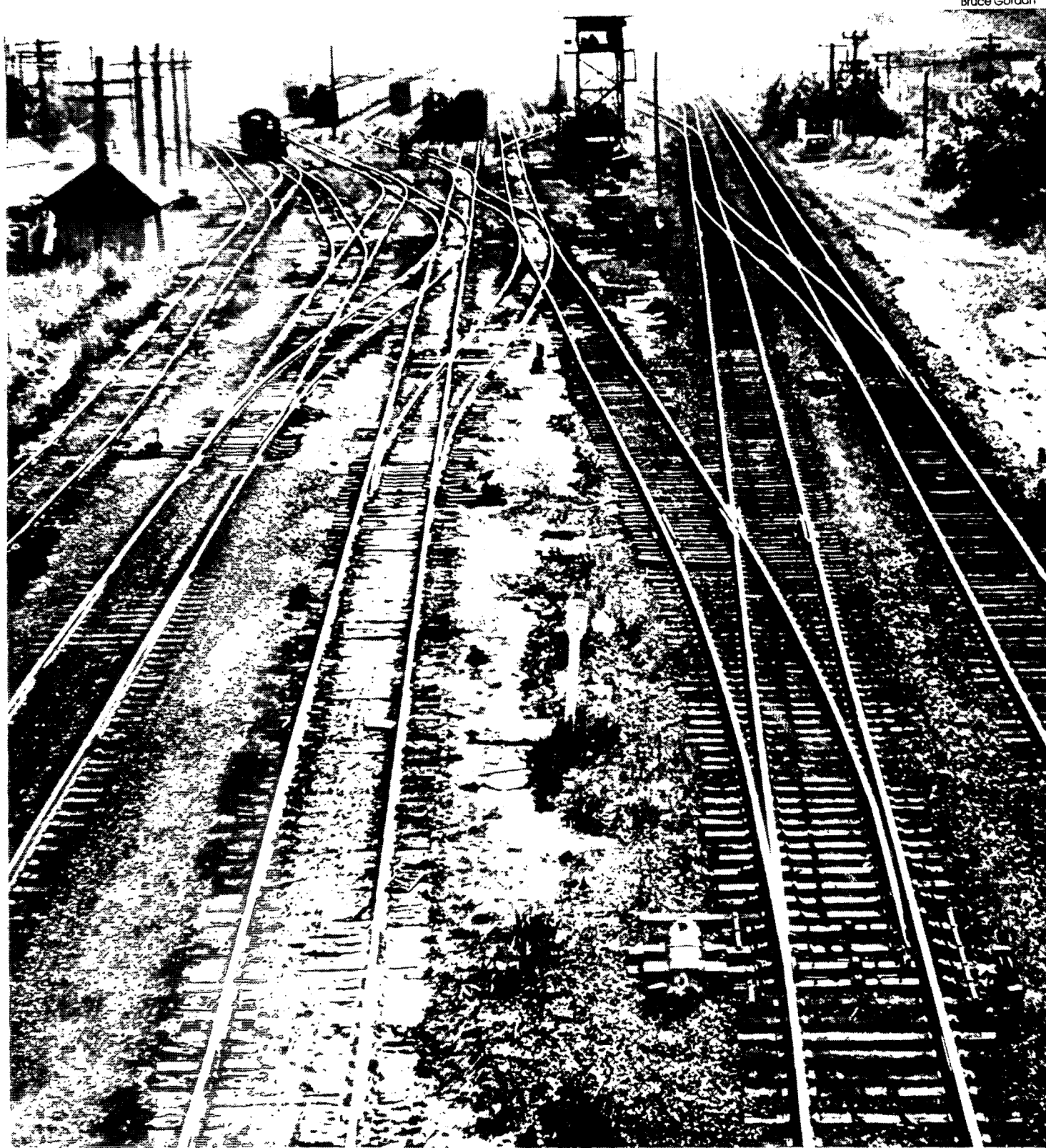
Cotton dust is only one immediate issue. "Coming up are standards for lead, arsenic and also a general policy on carcinogens," says Taylor, "and if it goes on like this we will have an impossible regulatory situation as far as OSHA is concerned." If each standard must be passed on by the Council of Economic Advisers and COWPS, he says, few will see the light of day.

OCAW vice-president Mazzocchi sees the killing of the cotton dust standard as an explicit statement of the Carter administration's ideology: "There is this in-

credible no-nothingism on inflation," he says. "No costs can be imposed on industry, workers must die in order that goods get produced.... And yet these same guys are talking about [the high cost of] National Health Insurance—where do they think hospital admissions come from?"

Given the current situation on safety and health, a solution does not come readily to mind. Taylor of the AFL-CIO says that only presidential leadership will turn the situation around; yet he admits that it is the President's own advisers who have followed the corporate line on OSHA. Action in Congress the strengthen the agency is unlikely. "If the law is opened up," says Mazzocchi, "it will be amended to death. A remedy is not easy." Tom Young is a writer in Chicago.





Bruce Gordon

"On Amtrak's first day of operation," an official history relates, "it inherited a dying business." Equipment was outdated and broken down, facilities were terrible and ridership was declining. Worse, tracks were in poor repair, making trains constantly late.

## TRANSPORTATION

# Carter's approach makes Amtrak's job impossible

By Josh Martin

**W**HEN AMTRAK, THE NATIONAL passenger rail service, announced that it would need a \$500 million subsidy from the federal government for its operations this year, Transportation Secretary Brock Adams threatened to cut off federal funds unless deficits could be reduced. Amtrak replied that no reduction could be made with the present system, so Adams ordered massive cutbacks in service.

On May 8, Adams unveiled a plan to cut Amtrak's ever-increasing deficits by eliminating over 3,000 miles from the present 27,000 mile system. The cuts are designed to save \$118 million in fiscal year 1980—the first full year after the plan would take effect.

As a result, Dallas, Nashville, Omaha, Salt Lake City and other major cities are slated to be dropped from the system. Arkansas, Maine, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, South Dakota, Utah and Wyoming would receive no Amtrak service at all.

Set up by an Act of Congress in 1970, Amtrak was supposed to be a quasi-governmental for-profit corporation that would restore American passenger rail transportation. It needed restoring in 1970, that is, before it was

Amtrak relieved private railroads of their deficit-ridden passenger lines, creating, more on paper than in fact, a single national passenger service.

"On Amtrak's first day of operation," an official history relates, "it inherited a dying business." It held title to a mish-mash of antique equipment: train cars were 22 years old on the average and locomotives were even older. Stations and maintenance facilities had been neglected and were inefficient and unsightly.

Against this background Amtrak's accomplishments have been considerable. New track has been laid to accommodate high speed trains, service has been computerized, stations modernized and the operating fleet doubled. Since 1972, its first full year of operation, ridership has increased from 16.6 million to 19.2 million, and revenues have grown from \$162.6 million to \$311 million.

But the costs of building a modern passenger rail system, after 50 years of neglect, have been enormous, and Amtrak has never shown a profit. Operating expenses have soared from \$200 million in 1972 to almost \$850 million in 1977, with the federal government picking up the tab. Amtrak, the for-profit corporation, ran \$536.7 million in the red last year.

Secretary Adams warned Amtrak earlier this spring that its operating deficits might cause him to "re-examine the need"

of subsidized rail transportation. "I'm not satisfied with what is happening over there," he said. "If they're going to require \$500 million a year, that is not a private corporation anymore and we'll have to take a close and serious look at it."

Amtrak's real problem is that it is expected to make a profit. No other passenger train service in the world does so. American policy makers, rooted as they are in the free enterprise system, fail to comprehend the economics of public transportation systems. Transportation has been publicly subsidized since the Romans built the first roads, using public funds and slaves. Even with the slaves, they had to use public funds.

In the U.S., government subsidies have fostered all the transportation systems we now use, starting with postroads and canals in the early 19th century. This was done to encourage settlement and to promote trade. Railroads were given land grants and economic incentives throughout the last century, and billions of dollars have been spent on highways to encourage auto and truck use. Similarly, airports have been built to facilitate air travel—all this at government expense.

While Amtrak raises Adams' ire over a \$500 million subsidy request, the federal government spends \$10 billion a year on highway construction and maintenance, subsidizing the automobile manufacturers on a grand scale. Over \$80 billion has been spent during the last 20 years on the 41,000 mile interstate highway system.

Freight and passenger railroads now receive less than 10 percent of the money spent each year on interstate highways, even though in 1977 they carried 19.2 million passengers and half of all intercity freight. In fact, the federal government has not even increased Amtrak subsidies to match inflation rates.

The Carter administration is unwilling to accept the obligations of maintaining a public rail service. No one in the administration will admit that public transportation can't make a profit, and Congress is paralyzed by the prospect of gov-

ernment ownership. Something must be done, but no one wants to do it.

The U.S. alone among industrial nations has not maintained an efficient passenger rail service. As recently as 1945, trains carried over two-thirds of all intercity passenger traffic. By 1950 they carried less than half. In 1970, when Amtrak was formed, only 7.3 percent of intercity passenger traffic went by rail.

What was once the world's most efficient system was allowed to become one of its worst; railroad companies skimmed off profits without renewing and repairing equipment; service was cut in the name of profitability; government policy and abundant, cheap energy made the development of alternative modes of transportation possible.

The steep rise in petroleum prices since 1973 and the scarcity of energy reserves gives government planners and the American public good reason to reconsider fuel-efficient public transportation. Yet American transportation policy takes little substantive account of the realities of the energy crisis. Indeed, driving along our highways, you would never know there was an energy crisis. There are more cars and trucks than ever before, accounting for a third of our yearly consumption of petroleum.

Opinion polls show that more Americans would ride trains if better service were available. Cities across the country have been trying to get Amtrak to establish new passenger train service routes. Cleveland-Columbus-Dayton-Cincinnati. Pittsburgh-Youngstown-Akron-Cleveland. Jacksonville-Tallahassee-Mobile-New Orleans. Local governments, chambers of commerce, and just plain folks want these routes, but the federal government wants to see profits on existing lines first, before increasing service.

The Carter administration wants the best of both worlds: it claims to want increased passenger rail use to conserve energy, yet it repeatedly vetoes the expenditures that would make this possible. The administration proposes to cut back rail services in the hope that the elimination of money losers and the retention of profitable lines will produce a net profit, this is a vicious cycle: cut back service and use drops.

Most industrialized countries make it a point of national pride—as well as government policy—to develop and maintain high-speed, efficient intercity mass transit service. While Amtrak has been begging the federal government for funds to introduce 120-mile-an-hour train service on one "showcase" route (Boston-Washington), Europe and Japan are eagerly planning 200 and 300 m.p.h. "super-trains" to operate along major trunk lines.

In the meantime, service along Amtrak routes is terrible. In 1976 74.4 percent of Amtrak trains ran on time; last year only 62 percent did so. It is one of the worst performance records in the railroad industry. (The worst is Conrail, the quasi-governmental freight line). Fully 30 percent of the late trains were thrown off schedule due to "slow orders" put into effect because of poor track or roadbed conditions. Small wonder then that Amtrak has not been able to capture a larger share of intercity traffic.

"We can no longer afford the luxury of inefficiency in transportation," said a member of the House Government Activities and Transportation Subcommittee, which oversees Amtrak's operation. "It's time, basically, to rethink our reliance on this whole profit motivation rail monopoly, and instead look toward a service motivated system. We're dealing with a public service when we're dealing with Amtrak. We can either eliminate rail transportation or admit that the taxpayer's paying for it, but that it's worth it if we're going to get decent service."

Expanded passenger rail service can make a big contribution to our energy conservation efforts, and at the same time meet our transportation needs. Energy savings realized through increased train use would more than cover government funded operation deficits. Ironically, Transportation Secretary Adams has opposed further subsidizing of passenger rail service at the very time when the government could get the highest return on its investment.

Josh Martin is a free-lance writer in New York.



## BUREAUCRACY

## Whistleblowing is still risky

By Christy Macy

**I**F JIMMY CARTER HAS HIS WAY, people who tell the truth about government activities are going to be in more trouble than they ever were under the Nixon administration. This was the theme of a two-day conference here, sponsored by the Institute for Policy Studies, to publicize the plight of the federal employee who is fired, reassigned, demoted or made the object of character assassination campaigns for reporting instances of illegality or corruption.

The conference opened May 19, the same day that the government won an important decision against two individuals accused of espionage and stealing government documents, David Truong and Ronald Humphrey. (*ITT*, May 31.) Morton Halperin, a member of the National Security Council staff during the Nixon administration, told the 250 assembled whistleblowers, congressional aides and interested individuals that the Truong-Humphrey verdict meant that even the most innocent government paper, if copied and handed to a reporter or member of Congress, would be grounds for criminal charges.

It is now a crime, Halperin said, to convert to one's own use government information, regardless of whether the release of that information is harmful to the national security and whether the government is deprived of its own use of the information. Indeed, the verdict implied that it is a crime to give any government document to a person "not entitled to receive them," he said.

"Any last remaining hope that anybody had that this administration would be different is gone," concluded Halperin. This verdict, he said, "is the equivalent of the British Official Secrets Act."

#### A deteriorating record.

Carter's record on secrecy began to deteriorate almost immediately upon his entering the White House. Elected in part for his promise to open up the government and the insidious growth of secrecy that characterized the Nixon years, one of Carter's first moves in office was to attack the *Washington Post* for printing a story revealing CIA's bribery of many foreign heads of state, including King Hussein of Jordan.

After the leak Carter began to argue that perhaps there were too many congressional committees which were being informed on intelligence matters. He also drastically reduced the number of people in the White House privy to classified information.

Candidate Carter specifically pledged to seek "strong legislation to protect our federal employees from harassment and dismissal if they find out and report waste or dishonesty by their superiors or others." He promised that "the Fitzgerald case, where a dedicated civil servant was fired from the Defense Department for reporting cost overruns, must never be repeated."

Carter has done an about face on this issue of protecting the whistleblower, however. His reorganizing plan for the federal Civil Service, introduced as S.2640 in the Senate, has been subject to some strong criticism.

The President's proposed bill does not allow for investigation of substantive charges raised by whistleblowers, argued Ralph Stavins and Louis Clark of the Institute for Policy Studies, and the protections for federal employees who decide to go public are scant. "We have searched our own records of scores of whistleblower cases and have been unable to identify one whistleblower who would be protected by the President's reorganization plan."

Stavins further commented that the Carter proposal would even weaken some of the protections whistleblowers already have under existing law. It would remove,



Frank Snepp (left) and Donald Jordan, both former CIA officers address the Whistleblower's Conference.

## Although Candidate Carter expressed outrage at government persecution of whistleblowers, his administration is out to make harassment easier.

for instance, the provisions that Ernest Fitzgerald, Carter's campaign hero, used to challenge Nixon administration reprisals against him after he revealed cost overruns on the C5A transport.

Fitzgerald himself characterized the Carter proposal as an "almost complete delegation of authority to the executive branch to do whatever they please to the federal civilian employee."

#### Suicide.

Sen. James Abourezk (D-SD) hurled the strongest criticisms against the Carter plan during the conference. He told the audience that under the Carter administration, whistleblowing remains "career and institutional suicide," and that the Civil Service Commission, which is now one of the few places a federal employee can turn to, is a "whistleblower's graveyard."

Abourezk also attacked a Justice department case being brought against former CIA agent Frank Snepp for not allowing the CIA to see his book on CIA activities in Vietnam, *Decent Interval*. "Frank Snepp, John Stockwell, or anyone else who joined the national security establishment did not sign away their First Amendment rights," the senator told an applauding audience.

Arguing that no government agency should be able to force its personnel, in the name of loyalty, to commit acts that are above the laws of the land, Abourezk said, "The agency is not the master and the employee is not its servant." In his concluding remarks, the senator announced the introduction of a new whistleblower's bill that would "provide for the disclosure and investigation of allegations of illegal or improper government activities." Its effect, he said, would be to "protect dissenters in all federal agencies"; something that the administration's proposal "failed to do."

Frank Snepp and John Stockwell, who, like Snepp, is a former CIA officer who has written an unauthorized book on CIA operations, were major attractions at the whistleblower's conference.

Stockwell, who headed a CIA task force during the secret war in Angola, said that

CIA operations around the world had greatly weakened the U.S., not strengthened it. He argued against their use anywhere, saying the only result of their use has been to "harm our credibility around the world."

Even in the face of the recent disheartening actions by the Carter administration, whistleblowers from all over the country and from a wide range of agencies came to the conference and continued to do what many of them have been doing for years—going to the public and press with their stories. Many are now unemployed. They came from as far away as California, West Virginia, Atlanta, Massachusetts. Their political views were as diverse as their jobs and their hometowns. What held them together was a belief that the government does not allow dissent or responsible criticism within its ranks, and in fact punishes those who engage in such practices.

Among the whistleblowing panelists was Ronald McRae, who served as a legal assistant in a Navy boot camp in San Diego. There he collected material for almost a year on poor conditions, brutalization of recruits and corruption and bribery among his superiors.

When McRae informed his command that he was planning to go public with the material unless there were major changes, the Navy got vicious. "First they accused me of being a homosexual, and finally, they took me to the mental ward and said I was a psychopath."

In desperation, McRae went to Rep. Thomas Downey (D-NY), who handed his material to Jack Anderson.

#### Police spying.

Perhaps the most lively panelist of the day was Renault Robinson, a member of the Chicago police department who for years has been blowing the whistle on political spying by the police. Robinson, who formed the *Afro-American Patrolman's League* in 1968 in an effort to end improper police tactics against the black community, became the target of ruthless harassment by his own department.

He and his associates in the league were given poor assignments, transferred from

one place to another, and were told they were not allowed to put the two words "brothers" and "unite" on the same piece of paper.

Robinson's group lodged a race and sex discrimination suit against the Chicago police department and, as part of the discovery, uncovered massive police spying programs against Robinson and thousands of others in the Chicago area. "We saw files on the sex life of everyone in town, including the president of Sears and Roebuck," he told a highly amused audience.

Maude de Victor was the most recently abused whistleblower at the conference. In her capacity in the benefits section of the Veterans' Administration office in Chicago, she discovered a pattern of skin diseases in many Vietnam veterans. These were symptoms of dioxin poisoning, she discovered, from a herbicide that was used in Vietnam to defoliate jungle areas.

Her discovery, and the fact that her allegations led to a TV special on the subject, has made her *persona non grata* at the Veterans' Administration. Her phone calls are intercepted, no messages are given to her, and she has been closed out of regular meetings that she once attended.

She raised the question, "How is it that I am allowed to visit with a North Vietnamese doctor who is interested in the effects of this poisonous herbicides on his own people in Vietnam, and yet I am not allowed to receive phone calls from my own congressman?"

Like most whistleblowers, Maude de Victor is a free spirit who speaks her mind, whatever the consequences. When asked why she went public with her information in the face of intimidation, she replied, "I have a commitment to the living, I have a commitment to the dead, and I have a commitment to the unborn."

Christy Macy is associated with the Government Accountability Project of the Institute for Policy Studies, which runs a program of support and legal advice for prospective whistleblowers. The project can be contacted at 1901 Q St., NW, Washington, DC 20009.



## IN THE WORLD

## ZAIRE

# Mobutu regime crumbles: West to the rescue

By Galen Hull

**A**CT II OF THE CONFLICT in the copper-rich southeastern region of Zaire known as Shaba (formerly Katanga) opened on the night of May 11. For the second time in 14 months rebel troops of the Congolese National Liberation Front (FLNC), the *bete noire* of President Mobutu's regime, moved on key mining and railway towns in the area.

The Zaire News Agency reported initially that government troops had beat back an attack on the railway center of Mutshatsha by "Katangese gendarmes" aided by "whites who had been identified as Cubans." It also reported that an attack involving 4,000 rebels was launched on the important mining town of Kolwezi.

It was alleged that the attack, code-named "Operation Dove," had been conceived in Havana and perfected in Algiers where the guerillas had been trained. The western press picked up on the allegation, reporting yet another "invasion" of Zaire by "communist backed Katangans."

The 9,000 government troops of the Kamanyola Brigade trained by a succession of Belgians, Israelis and North Koreans and sent to Shaba Province after the 1977 "invasion" proved ineffective in repulsing the attack. Although no reporters were allowed into the contested area, sketchy reports indicated that the rebels had captured Kolwezi and were moving toward the government airbase at Kamina, 130 miles to the north.

It was reported that some 2,500 Europeans were being held captive by the rebels. Most of them were Belgian technicians employed by the mining companies. They also included some 400 French nationals as well as Americans and Britons.

The stage was set for a familiar unfolding of events. The debt-ridden corrupt Mobutu regime appealed to friends in the west to help repel a "Soviet-Cuban inspired communist menace."

The setting varied but slightly from the earlier struggle. Since the 80-day war of 1977 in which the rebels were eventually driven back by a concerted Franco-Moroccan mission, as many as 220,000 refugees had fled from Shaba into neighboring Angola to escape retribution at the hands of government troops. The west had become increasingly apprehensive about the Soviet-Cuban presence in Africa. President Giscard d'Estaing of France had just emerged victorious in a life-and-death struggle against the left in the French elections and was anxious to pursue his version of the "mission civilisatrice." The Carter administration, under the influence of Zbigniew Brzezinski, was now in a far less conciliatory mood toward the Soviet-Cuban presence than it had been a year before.

## Rebels within.

Events moved much more swiftly this time. Reporter David Ottaway of the *Washington Post* maintained that the rebel invasion of Kolwezi "was without doubt one of the best planned and executed operations seen anywhere in Africa for years." He cited this as evidence of foreign involvement. Local sources contended that they had seen "four white-skinned rebels speaking either Spanish or Portuguese" during the week-long occupation.

## Are the French America's surrogate or do they have designs of their own in Zaire?

Hundreds of rebel supporters were already inside the city waiting to join the invading force from Angola. Many Europeans said they (or their servants) had recognized some rebels as townspeople. The rebels themselves had infiltrated Kolwezi at least a week before the assault. The city fell to the rebels literally within hours of the first shots.

As reports of the death of several Europeans filtered out of Kolwezi and heavy fighting continued, the Pentagon placed the 82nd Airborne's 17,000 troops at Pope Air Force Base on alert, the first in Carter's administration. The following day, May 18, the State department announced that 77 American nationals had been evacuated from the area. Most of them were employees of the Morrison-Knudsen construction firm, which carried out the rescue mission.

The U.S. also stepped up delivery of \$17.5 million in "non-lethal" military assistance to Zaire consisting of medical supplies, petroleum and air transport. Waves of Hercules C-130 transports loaded with 1,750 Belgian soldiers left Brussels for Kamina as planeloads of French foreign legionnaires left Corsica also en route to Zaire. In announcing the rescue operation Belgian Prime Minister Leo Tindemans described it as "purely humanitarian," intended to save expatriate lives.

The scenario provided even the casual observer of Africa with a sense of *deja vu*. In 1964, while the Cold War was still being waged, a similar rescue mission was mounted by the Belgians in concert with



Zaire's President Mobutu in Paris arranging aid to save his crumbling regime. Will the QUID PRO QUO be new colonial controls?

the Johnson administration. On Nov. 24 of that year 300 Belgian paratroopers were dropped by American planes on the city of Stanleyville (now known as Kisangani). They were followed by another 525 troops. The mission successfully evacuated 1,600 whites from the city while breaking the back of the popular Simba rebellion. Only 31 hostages were killed in addition to a couple of Belgian soldiers.

At least 2,500 Africans were killed. Although the excesses of the Simba rebellion have been well documented, popular sentiment in this city where Patrice Lumumba began his political career still runs high against the central government.

One might have expected the Belgians to play the principal role once again. As the former colonial power Belgium has in-

*Continued on page 18.*

## Western press peddles stereotypes

Whatever the outcome of the present conflict in Shaba, the image of Africa in the west will suffer tremendously. Press treatment of the events has served to perpetuate old myths that die hard. Africa is commonly thought of as the "heart of darkness" rent by tribal wars. Ironically, in Joseph Conrad's classic novel by that title the image applies to the moral corruption of the white man Kurtz as he travels up the Congo River.

In its cover story of May 20 *The Economist* uses the heart of darkness imagery to examine events in Zaire. We are told that Zaire is "a collection of more or less unrelated tribes who happen to live within dotted lines drawn up by 19th century European imperial mapmakers." It suffers "as all infant economies do" from corruption. This facile analysis ignores nearly two decades of political independence. Ethnic identities are being diffused by national loyalties that come with the realities of living in a modern nation-state. Even more important in understanding the events in Zaire is an awareness of a growing class consciousness. Zaire is governed by a rapacious pseudo-bourgeoisie that profits from the poverty of the masses.

To assume that "infant economies" are unique in suffering from corruption is most presumptuous. Have we not seen spectacular instances of corruption in high places recently in our own highly industrialized societies?

Even the *New York Times*, dean of American newspapers, has contributed to perpetuating this myth. In its editorial of May 18 the *Times* notes, sadly, that "hardly a day passes without a new violent episode among the tribes of Africa..." The same editorial informs us that those involved in the rebellion were formerly known as "Katangans" but are now referred to as "Shabas." Apart from the obvious grammatical mistake here, the reader is in no way enlightened as to the nature of the "tribal" conflict. At the very least it must be said that the conflict is regional. It does not pit one "tribe" against another. There is evidence to indicate that the rebel forces include both Lunda and Luba from Shaba Region as well as those from other regions disenchanted with Mobutu.

Last January a nascent rebellion was put down in neighboring Bandundu Region. A rebel group has operated in south-

ern Kivu and northern Shaba off and on for the last decade. A more plausible explanation for the profound political malaise throughout the country is to be found in the wretched conditions in which the mass of Zairians live.

Even more lamentable than these ethnocentric stereotypes are the blatantly racist images offered up in the western press. The French magazine *Express* quotes French embassy officials in Zaire who were present during the struggle for Kolwezi. One observed that the rebels acted "like the hordes of Attila." Another sniffed that "these rebels represent a new low level of savagery."

This is the kind of copy that is music to South African ears. To the extent that events in Shaba are seen in this context, it bodes ill for future policy decisions in southern Africa. The United States, for all its rhetoric, has not yet demonstrated that it has a new Africa policy. It would be tragic if these events were to tilt American policy decisions on the "Dark Continent" back toward support for white minorities under the pretext of building a bulwark against communism.

—Galen Hull



## TUNISIA

## Free marketeers veto free workers

By Bruce Vandervort

GENEVA

**I**F YOU ARE A TUNISIAN BETWEEN the ages of 18 and 30 and if you aren't in school or don't have a job, it's a good idea to stay off the streets. Under a law recently adopted by the Tunisian parliament, "young loafers" will be run in by the police and drafted for an unlimited term of "national service."

Although Hedi Nouria, the country's hardline prime minister, contends that the aim of the new legislation is to "encourage the young to work to earn a decent wage and learn a trade," it seems more likely that the real purpose of the law is to forestall another upheaval like the one that shook Tunisia on Jan. 26.

On that "Black Thursday," the Tunisian government called in troops to break a general strike led by the national trade union federation, the UGTT, killing an estimated 300 persons and wounding thousands more. Unemployed youths, who comprise over 50 percent of Tunisia's nearly 400,000 jobless (18-20 percent of the working age population), were in the forefront of that set-to.

In the view of Western governments, Tunisia occupies a strategic place in North Africa and in the Arab world in general. The *New York Times* spelled it out in an editorial on Feb. 13: "Tunisia has enjoyed a good press in this country since President Habib Bourguiba led it to independence from France in 1957 (sic)—probably because of Bourguiba's moderate stand on the Arab-Israeli dispute and his receptivity to Western investment. Tunisia has often been held up as a model of Third World development, free from the repression prevalent in so many poor countries." That is one way of putting it.

## Cheap labor its big asset.

For the West, Tunisia is the kind of Arab country that would have to be invented if it didn't already exist. Its leader, 74-year-old Habib Bourguiba, nowadays styled the "Supreme Combattant" and recently made "President for Life," is a genuine hero of the anti-colonial struggle, having spent time in French prisons before leading his country to independence in 1956. However, Bourguiba and his colleagues emerged from their pre-independence trials markedly pro-Western, in contrast to their counterparts in neighboring Algeria and Libya.

Tunisia under Bourguiba never joined the Arab front against Israel and was the only Arab state aside from Morocco to welcome Egyptian president Sadat's peace initiative this winter. And, Tunisia has stayed neutral in the Mauritanian-Moroccan/Algerian-Polisario wrangle over the Western Sahara. Although it has been a single-party state since 1960, when the communist party was outlawed, Tunisia has always been held up as the star Arab pupil of Western-style democracy.

Lately, however, Tunisia's greatest value to the West has been in its role as "a model of Third World development." This wasn't always the case. In 1964, Bourguiba's party took the name "Destourian Socialist party" (DSP) and launched a socialist program to develop the country. The prime mover of this experiment was Ahmed Ben Salah, the minister of planning and ex-head of the UGTT.

The socialist line ran into trouble from Tunisia's big landowners, who were unhappy with Ben Salah's collectivization schemes, and the U.S., which had pumped several million dollars into the country since independence. In 1969, Bourguiba threw Ben Salah into prison and installed a new prime minister: Hedi Nouria, former director of Tunisia's central bank and a well-known "economic liberal."

With Bourguiba's support, Nouria set about implementing a development program of a type now sadly familiar to Third

World watchers. Restrictions on foreign investment were lifted and government-backed subsidies and tax holidays were offered to make the country more attractive to overseas capital. The drawing card in the prime minister's plan was what some in the government called "Tunisia's biggest asset," cheap labor.

To make sure that there was sufficient "national discipline" to make the new scheme work, the state apparatus held over from the nation's "socialist phase" was put at the service of the free market. This meant a continued ban on political opposition, eventually censorship (1975) and, especially, a tight rein on the formid-

party's *dirigiste* attitude had never really been swallowed by the UGTT rank and file. In 1965, militancy from the base had pushed Achour into a showdown with Bourguiba over a wage freeze. This ended in the general secretary's first stint in jail at the hands of his old comrade-in-arms.

Discontent lingered on into the 1970s, to be brought to the surface by a new generation of militants who had flooded into the UGTT to protest the inadequacies of Nouria's development plan and the increasing lack of political freedom in the country. By 1976, some observers were claiming that the UGTT was on the way

The "economic liberal" sent the troops to break the UGTT led general strike.



Prime Minister Hedi Nouria, formerly director of Tunisia's central bank.

able national trade union federation, the UGTT.

## A pro-Western union.

Founded before World War II, the UGTT is one of the largest and best organized trade union movements in the Arab world. At the time of the January general strike, it had 500,000 members paying dues through check-off, with nearly 100 percent membership in the crucial railroad and mining (iron ore, phosphates) sectors.

Internationally, the UGTT (like Tunisia in general) has always been something of an anomaly. Intensely anti-colonialist, it was at the same time nominally pro-Western due to close links with Bourguiba's party. Thus, when the international trade union movement split into its communist and "free world" segments in the 1940s, the UGTT affiliated to the social democratic International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Most of the other Arab trade union federations, meanwhile, had joined the communist World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU).

UGTT membership was a considerable plum for the ICFTU, which has never had much impact outside its Northern European base, and the UGTT quickly became a showpiece for the Confederation. At the time of his arrest in the wake of the January confrontation, Habib Achour, the UGTT's general secretary, was also a vice-president of the ICFTU.

Not surprisingly, in the 1960s the UGTT began to take on some of the trappings of European social democratic unionism. It bought a hotel, an insurance company and a travel agency, then part of a bank. And, like its German and Scandinavian counterparts, the UGTT gradually moved into a quasi-symbiotic relationship with the ruling socialist party. By the 1970s, UGTT leaders like Achour were sitting in the DSP politburo, and the federation was widely regarded as little more than a glorified vote catcher for Bourguiba and a mechanism for selling state policies to the workers.

This was a hasty judgment. The ruling

to filling the political void created by the continued outlawing of opposition parties.

## The rejection front.

One of the targets of the young militants' ire was the government's rejection of pan-Arabism and identification with the West. Many of them supported foreign minister Mohamed Masmoudi's espousal of Colonel Gaddafi's offer of federation with Libya in 1974. Although the "Supreme Combattant" scotched this plan and sacked Masmoudi, the ex-foreign minister continued to enjoy some prestige in union ranks. Support for his idea of closer ties with the Arab world was one of the ingredients in last January's blow-up.

Union opposition to the government crested in 1977 as Premier Nouria's "development model" imposed more and more severe burdens on Tunisia's working class. Like so many of their counterparts in the Third World, Nouria's planners had thought that their liberal economic policies would woo needed capital and modern technology into the leading sectors of the country's industrial base, e.g., iron and steel, phosphates processing. Instead, they typically got runaway capital from textile companies in Europe eager to use Tunisia's cheap labor to make a quick killing in the jeans market.

A quick spurt in GNP followed, only to fade before the onset of the current global recession. In the meantime, the influx of overseas capital had created few new jobs for the mass of school graduates, since the foreign investors chose to avoid paying union scale by recruiting among the rural population, especially young women making their first appearance on the job market.

Furthermore, this jerry-built economic boom served to widen economic disparities by creating a new class of small entrepreneurs and fostering corruption in the state bureaucracy. Worse, it encouraged the government to borrow heavily abroad, thus leaving the country in even tougher economic shape once the recession hit.

The real crunch came in September 1977 when the EEC, under pressure from some of the same manufacturers who had rushed into Tunisia in the early 1970s, raised tariffs on foreign textiles. At the same time, the world phosphates market fell to pieces and drought struck the nation's crucial wheat harvest. Toward year's end, there were strikes in the fields and phosphate mines, as demands mounted for a confrontation with the government. And in December, a UGTT delegation, led by Habib Achour himself and accompanied by Mohamed Masmoudi, went to Tripoli, where it allegedly signed a joint declaration with the Libyan unions damning Sadat and pledging support for the Arab "Rejection Front."

## Democracy betrayed?

Escalation followed. On Dec. 23, Nouria fired interior minister Tahar Belkhouja, who had favored a dialogue with the unions, and when six of Belkhouja's colleagues quit in protest, he replaced them with hardliners. Shortly thereafter, an emergency session of the UGTT ordered general secretary Achour and other union officials to give up their party posts and approved plans for a nation-wide strike.

The rest of the story is well-known: a general strike with massive support was broken by the use of troops, the first time this has happened in Tunisian history. Habib Achour and the UGTT leadership are in prison, on charges of having plotted to overthrow the state, in connivance with a "foreign power" (read Libya). The government has moved quickly to replace the jailed union leadership with men of its own, who were approved by a UGTT rump congress in March.

Tunisia's sharp swing to the right, although it could have been seen coming by anyone who looked closely, seems nevertheless to have taken many outsiders by surprise. The subsequent widespread labor protests—from the AFL-CIO and, especially, the UGTT's fellow trade unionists in the ICFTU—express a sense of shock at the virulence of the government's response to the January walk-out and the gravity of the charges levelled at Habib Achour and his friends. This incredulity, however, is particularly rife in editorials like the one from the *New York Times* cited above, in which the government's action is treated as a "betrayal of democracy."

Those who persist in this view have under-estimated the seriousness of the game being played by Nouria and company. For the events of Jan. 26 were not a simple over-reaction of an increasingly dictatorial, economically hard-pressed government to a labor dispute. At stake, despite all the denials of Habib Achour and his friends, is the destiny of the Tunisian state.

For years, challenges to the *status quo* have been held in check largely by the personality and prestige of Habib Bourguiba. Now, the "Supreme Combattant" is too old and senile to paper over the profound differences within the nation over the future course of its foreign and domestic policies.

## Army in the wings.

In that light, the essential question is no longer whether or not the UGTT actually planned to bring down Nouria on Jan. 26. Voluntarily or not, the UGTT had come to represent a large number of Tunisians who wanted change; its decision to call a general strike against the government was a deeply political act and the regime rightly saw it as such.

Now, however, the cat is out of the bag. The government has made it clear that it is prepared to go beyond the more genteel forms of suppression to curb dissidence; the false democratic mask has been dropped for good. And, while one powerful obstacle to Nouria's ascendancy to the presidency has been removed,

Continued on page 11.



## BRITAIN

# Labor waives the rules, keeps power

By Mervyn Jones

LONDON

**T**HE DANGEROUS LIFE OF BRITAIN's Labour government entered a new phase on the night of May 8, when it was defeated in the House of Commons on a major budgetary provision.

As I reported when Chancellor of the Exchequer Denis Healey presented his budget on April 11, he would have liked to introduce big tax cuts in order to stimulate the economy and also to assist the run-up to the next election; but the highly dubious economic outlook, and the continuing stagnation in British production and exports, obliged him to be cautious.

Any prospect of deficit financing on an increased scale would injure business confidence and weaken the pound on the international exchanges. Even his modest cuts were badly received. During the past month the pound has weakened in relation to the dollar, and more emphatically in relation to strong currencies such as the German mark.

## Tories win tax cut.

His problem is also a problem for the Tories, who hope that they will soon be the governing party. If in power, they would doubtless cut health and welfare spending, but to do so in a really slashing manner would risk a dangerous clash with the unions. They are committed to increases in the defense budget and are daily attacking Labour for permitting a military run-down. It's hard to see what scope they would have for tax cuts. Margaret Thatcher is inclined to demagoguery, but it has its limits.

Nevertheless, when debate on the budget opened, they introduced a notion for a cut in the standard personal income tax rate from 34 to 33 percent. Since the standard rate governs what everybody pays, the greatest beneficiaries would be people on higher incomes, and the proposal is in line with classical Tory doctrine. The cost to the Treasury, at 370 million pounds in a full year, would be considerable. (1 pound = \$1.94.)

The outcome of the vote depended on the attitude of the four minor parties. The Liberals are in theory allied to the government under the pact agreed on in 1977, but this pact has been wearing thinner and thinner. It is highly unpopular with Liberals at the grass roots and is held responsible for the party's disastrous showing in recent by-elections. Moreover, the Liberals favor sweeping cuts in income tax to be balanced by rises in consumption taxes. Therefore, they decided to vote for the Tory motion.

The Scottish and Welsh Nationalists made the same decision. It's essential for them to present an oppositional profile and to claim that they would welcome an early election (although, in view of the SNP's setbacks in this year's polls, that no longer rings entirely true).

When the day came, the ten Ulster Unionists were the only group whose intentions were still uncertain. By long tradition they are allies of the Tories, but they have given some praise to Labour's hard-line Secretary for Northern Ireland, Roy Mason. However, they are pressing for power in the province to be returned to the hands of the majority—that is, the Protestants. The demand has a specious democratic flavor. After all, the people of Northern Ireland have had no working representative institutions since 1974, and Mason's rule as a sort of colonial governor can't last forever.

Their decision to vote with the Tories was announced by Enoch Powell—ironically, an English politician who won election for a Northern Ireland constituency only in 1974. It's clear that their motives were wholly political and had little or nothing to do with the issue of tax cuts; it was a demonstration for Ulster Unionist demands.

This left the government with no allies except the two Catholic members from Northern Ireland. The tax-cut motion was carried by a vote of 312 to 304.

## No easy options.

The immediate question was: would the government resign and open the way to an immediate election? In traditional political theory, this is what is supposed to



Labour Chancellor Denis Healey waves budget box outside No. 10 Downing Street. He also waived part of his budget.

happen when a British government is defeated on a major issue of policy, such as its financial strategy. But that tradition has become extremely rusty. The last time a Commons vote led to an election was in 1924, when a minority Labour government was forced out by a Tory-Liberal alignment.

Prime Minister Callaghan knew that, if he reacted to the tax vote by introducing a motion of confidence, he could scrape through. There is still just that much life in the pact with the Liberals. To nobody's surprise, we woke up on the morning after the big debate to hear that the government would continue to govern.

The second question is: what about the 370 million pound shortfall in revenue? It isn't possible to square the accounts by spending cuts, whether in welfare, defense or anything else. Such cuts would become operative only in the ensuing financial year, whereas the effect of a tax reduction is immediate, with the vast majority of people paying through their weekly pay-packets.

Healey has three options, none of them enviable. He can simply accept that the budget will be in deficit by an extra 370 million, which will land him in trouble with the business community and the International Monetary Fund. He can attempt an increased tax on corporation profits; this is the socialist answer, to be sure, but it would rouse the fury of the business world and (with the Liberals presumably opposed) it might not pass the Commons. Or he can increase consumption taxes, maybe on sales in general, maybe on liquor and tobacco. This would send the price index and the infla-

tion rate up, reversing a recent slight fall, and no government wants to do that.

For the second month in succession, wholesale prices of imported goods have risen by a disturbing 2 percent. These increases must inevitably be reflected, after a delay of roughly four months, in prices in the shops.

## Odds on Tory victory.

Beyond this, the government's ability to carry on becomes more and more problematical. What happened on May 8 can happen again; a government that sustains repeated parliamentary defeats on important issues starts to look fairly ragged. The Liberal pact may formally expire before the autumn. The House of Commons would be unmanageable from the government's point of view. A 1978-79 parliamentary session could be a miserable experience, and October 1979 is constitutionally the latest possible date for an election.

Thus, more and more political observers are predicting an election in October this year. What are the prospects? Unless things change dramatically, it would be a

pretty close-run battle, but the odds would be on a narrow Tory victory.

The municipal elections held during the first week in May were, in general, comforting for Labour. There were Tory gains, but not many. In Scotland, the SNP sustained further losses and there were clear signs of a stronger Labour hold on the working-class vote. Especially pleasing was the fact that the National Front saw its support fading and failed to elect a single councillor anywhere in the country.

The rebuff to the racist NF was especially marked in London. It followed a remarkable event—a political march and demonstration combined with a rock festival bringing in some popular groups—staged on April 29 by the new-formed Anti-Nazi League. Far in excess of all expectations, 80,000 people turned out; overwhelmingly, they were young and working-class. The policy of vigorous counter-attack against the racists has proved its success.

Still, the political outlook is finely balanced. An October election may be a necessity, but is anything but a sure bet. ■



Tunis burns as army breaks general strike.

## Tunisia

Continued from page 10.  
many remain.

Ahmed Mestiri, former minister of defense and of the interior, has just returned from a wide-ranging foreign tour (including a visit to the U.S.) to plump for a "social democratic" alternative to the present regime. Ahmed Ben Salah, who escaped from prison in 1973, has now begun to agitate in earnest from France for a return to the "socialist path" he pursued in the 1960s. And, to complete the club of ex-ministerial contenders, Mohamed Masmoudi continues to hold his Libyan, pan-Arab card.

However, another and more ominous candidate for the succession is said to be

waiting in the wings: the army. Having been unleashed by a threatened regime, and having tasted power in the streets against a not inconsiderable foe, the soldiers may not be eager for a return to barracks life. The new minister of defense

(appointed by Nouria following the expulsion of Belkhouja and his backers last December), ex-intelligence chief Abdallah Fahrat, is said to believe that the armed forces should play a bigger role in the affairs of state. ■



# Izzy Stone From Outcast to Institution

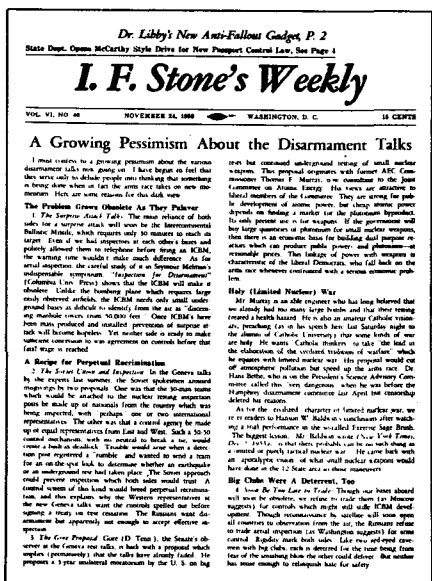
By Derek Shearer

On the evening of March 9, in the Grand Ballroom of New York's Plaza Hotel on Fifth Avenue, I.F. Stone—radical, muckraking journalist, and lifelong socialist—celebrated his 70th birthday, six months after the actual date.

Ostensibly the event—at \$50 a person—was a fundraiser for the Fund for New Priorities, a liberal citizens group, but there was an element of fraud in this, as Stone told the 350 guests.

"I worked in New York as a journalist for many years and I have so many friends here," Stone explained when given the microphone, "I wanted to have a party, so I called up the Fund and said, 'Why don't you get me a birthday party,' and they did, only I didn't know it would cost so much."

**Izzy Stone started writing at 14, and hasn't quit yet. From Israel to Korea to the backrooms of Washington, despite Cold War hysteria and harassment, he's covered the stories no one else would.**



I.F. Stone, known to friends, relatives and readers as Izzy, is—in addition to being a master writer—a very sociable character and an almost irrepressible entertainer and promoter. Recently, the *New York Times* Sunday magazine asked him to do a piece on Jimmy Carter. Stone told them the subject was too boring, but that he'd be happy to interview himself. He did and wrote the introduction to the interview as well. The *Times* ran it without changing a word.

Stone has puckish, almost pixie-like qualities that come out in public events like this. Part of him is Jewish humorist and Old Testament moralist. One writer describes Stone as having "the head of an owl on the body of a penguin." His face expresses his character. At the Plaza, he constantly broke into wide grins.

No one in my generation would dream of having a birthday party at the Plaza. The contradictions with all that Stone fought for over the years seem obvious, yet Stone didn't notice. He was having a great time, as if it were a wedding and he was the happy groom.

The crowd was old left-liberal. Prosperous and bourgeois in appearance, yet left in sentiment. Some liberal media luminaries were there—Kurt Vonnegut, Jules Feiffer, Tom Wicker, Anthony Lewis, Rev. William Sloan Coffin, Alexander Cockburn, and Murray Kempton. Ramsey Clark was the Master of Ceremonies, and historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. sat in the back of the room.

I asked *Village Voice* reporter Jack Newfield why he'd come. "Izzy Stone was the role model for my life," offered Newfield, "He taught me to read the small print."

After an introduction from Ted Thackrey, founder of the *Compass*, a liberal New York daily in the '40s where Stone had worked, the floor was given to Izzy.

Stone told the crowd, "I'm in a dangerously cheerful mood, and nothing is worse than an optimistic oracle, so why don't I just take questions."

## Straight talk.

The first question was a convoluted statement from a nervous young man who wanted to hear Stone's views on how to synthesize Marx and Jefferson.

Stone tackled the question head-on, in a way that made some of the audience a bit uncomfortable, but made me feel better about the event.

Stone didn't hesitate to expound on socialism. "Next to the problem of preventing nuclear war," He replied, "the greatest problem is to bring about a synthesis of socialism and freedom of thought. How can we have a more just and equitable society without running into the rigidity of bureaucracy and controls we see in the Communist world?"

"We live in a favorable environment with great natural resources. We have to be patient with what happens in the Communist world—yet we have to criticize what happens too. Movements toward Eurocommunism are favorable developments. They are not a charade for our benefit, but based on their own experience, on the ideas of Gramsci and Togliatti. Moscow fears it, because it's a

movement toward freedom; Washington fears it, because it's a movement toward socialism."

Another questioner, an older man, criticized Stone's recent *New York Review* piece on Israel. Stone, an ardent supporter of the establishment of Israel who risked his life to report on the 1948 war, has come under attack in recent years from the American Jewish community for his pleas for a settlement in the Middle East that includes substantial concessions to the Palestinians.

"Israel is clinging to a security blanket," said Stone, lacing into the subject full force. "The current government's position reflects rigidity; it is folly to prefer the certainness of preparation for war, rather than the uncertainty of preparation for peace."

"Sadat broke with the old rigidity. He risked his life in coming to Israel, and he was met with a lousy, warmed over UJA speech. It's going to go down in Jewish history as a disgrace."

## From pariah to institution.

Stone was interrupted for a moment while Ted Thackrey read a few congratulatory messages from journalists who couldn't attend. A note from Walter Cronkite called Stone's career a "blue print of honest and integrity as long as men honor freedom of the press."

Stone is fond of saying, "I started out as a pariah, graduated to a character, and if I live long enough I'll become an institution."

Maybe I.F. Stone is an Esquire success story—the self-made man, the independent capitalist who edited and published his own newsletter weekly and ran the circulation up to 70,000 at its height and made a handsome profit; the recipient of honorary degrees and subject of glowing profiles in the *Wall Street Journal*. But Stone's survival and current celebration by the straight press has greater meaning: the Cold War is finally over.

A few years ago my classmate from Yale, Jerry Bruck, made an award-winning documentary on Stone called *I.F. Stone's Weekly*. The movie shows Stone receiving the George Polk journalism award in 1971. Stone took the opportunity to remind the audience of journalists and editors that George Polk—a young reporter sympathetic to the left who died

while covering the Greek civil war—was the "first victim of the Cold War," killed by Greek rightwing police who blamed the murder on the left.

In the footage of Stone at the luncheon, there is a scene of Stone chatting with Walter Cronkite, who was present to accept an award on behalf of CBS for the documentary "The Selling of the Pentagon." Stone is going on rapid fire, praising CBS for taking on the military, while Cronkite looks visibly distressed, the way a person looks when he wants to escape from a talker who has latched on to him at a cocktail party. Cronkite mumbles something about "getting together for lunch the next time Stone is in New York" and moves away from him.

Later in the film there is CBS footage of Walter Cronkite "on location" in Vietnam, reporting the Pentagon's line on the war.

Now Cronkite celebrates I.F. Stone—a muted apology to all his viewers.

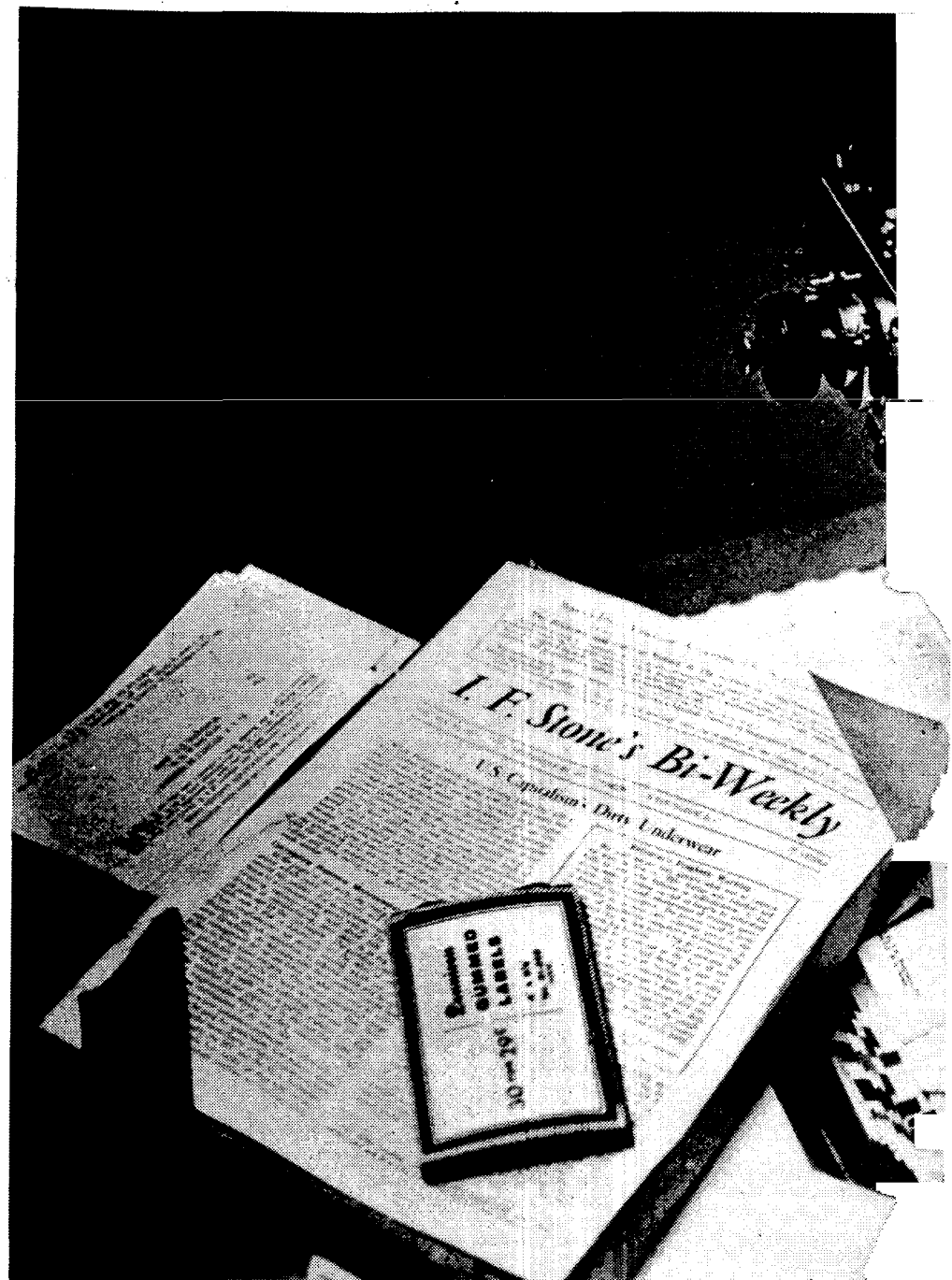
## New career.

In retirement, Stone has begun a new career as a scholar of ancient Greece. Every week day morning he walks two and a half miles from his home in north-west Washington to an office at American University, declining Greek verbs in his head as he goes along. On the door of the office is a small plaque that reads: I.F. Stone, Visiting Scholar. Stone has tacked up a quotation from Euripides in Greek which, roughly translated, means, "Only with great effort, are great deeds done."

In December 1971 Stone shut down his independent paper. The years of hard work were taking a toll on his health and his doctor told him that if he wanted to live he'd have to ease up his pace. Stone decided to write a book on free speech and his research led him back to Athens and the origins of democracy. As he got more into Greek history, he decided that working from translations was inadequate and he began to study Greek. Stone hopes to finish his book within the next year. He's carefully checking it, because he feels that it will, of course, be controversial.

"I'm really the first New Left revisionist Greek historian," Stone said proudly.

Stone takes great joy in his new pursuit. One night recently at dinner with







aries and bulky histories that he's using. Stone approaches Greek history with the same zeal he expended on Congressional hearings, State department White Papers, and Pentagon budgets.

"I'm having the time of my life," he said.

Over lunch at the American University faculty club, Stone ordered cottage cheese and peaches—he has been on an off-again/on-again diet the entire ten years I've known him—and reminisced about his early days as a journalist and how he started the weekly.

#### Always wanted to be a journalist.

Stone was born Isidor Feinstein (he later adopted Stone as his surname), son of Russian immigrants, in Philadelphia in 1907, and raised in nearby Haddonfield, N.J., where his father ran a dry good store. He always wanted to be a journalist. He published his first paper, *The Progress*, himself at the age of 14. Stone editorialized in favor of the League of Nations, attacked William Randolph Hearst and supported Mahatma Gandhi. After three issues his father made him cease because it interfered with his school work.

Stone got his politics by reading Jack London, Herbert Spencer, Prince Kropotkin, and Karl Marx. For a time, he was a member of the Socialist party of New Jersey and he worked for the election of Norman Thomas in 1928. He drifted away from organized left-wing politics because of the sectarian fights. He considered himself a kind of independent "communist-anarchist," and later a "radical-liberal."

Stone attended the University of Pennsylvania ("I wanted to go to Harvard, but my grades were too poor"), while working afternoons and nights doing rewrite and copy editing for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. He dropped out after three years to work fulltime for the *Camden-Courier*, where he learned every aspect of the newspaper business. He quit the paper when the city editor refused to let him cover the executions of Sacco and Vanzetti.

In 1931 at age 23, Stone became the youngest editorial writer in the country on a major newspaper when he joined the *Philadelphia Record*. Two years later he shifted to the *New York Post*, a strong pro-New Deal paper, where he worked for seven years writing editorials. In 1940, after a falling out with the publisher who felt the paper was veering too far left, Stone moved to Washington as a correspondent for the *Nation*. The job lasted until 1946. Stone wrote two books in this period, *The Court Disposes* (1937) on the FDR-Supreme Court power struggle, and *Business As Usual* (1941) on the nation's lack of preparedness for World War II.

Stone also contributed to *PM*, a liberal daily New York newspaper founded by Chicago's Marshall Field. When *PM* expired in 1946 it was succeeded briefly by the *New York Star* and then the *Daily Compass*. Stone contributed columns and editorials to both.

As a Jew and as a reporter, Stone has had a special feeling for Israel. It was a good story and it was the story of his people. In spring, 1946, Stone boarded a ship in Europe carrying clandestine refugees to the Promised Land. He chronicled his adventures in *Underground to Palestine* published the same year. In 1947 Stone went back to Israel to cover the war, and wrote the text for another book, *This Is Israel*, with photos by Robert Capa.

#### Remembered in Israel.

Last summer, my wife and I went to Israel. At Stone's suggestion, we drove one Saturday to a kibbutz south of Tel Aviv, and inquired at the communal dining hall for a former American sailor named Haley. A sweet little woman from Brooklyn—Mrs. Minna Haley—came out of the kitchen. "You're friends of Mr. I.F. Stone's. He was on the ship with us. Of course, you'll stay for lunch. I'll get my husband, Haley."

Over the meal, Haley, who, as a member of a Jewish leftwing group from the States, had run the British blockade

on the same ship on which Stone had sailed, told us, "Izzy Stone is a part of this country. He loves Israel. He cried in my arms the last time he was here. He may criticize our government's policy, but he is one of us."

Throughout his career, criticizing government policy has been Stone's forte. During the winter of 1950-51, Stone worked out of Paris for the *Compass*. He studied the foreign press and noticed discrepancies between the releases issued by MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo and the stories filed by British and French correspondents. He began to inquire into the discrepancies, which led him to a full-scale reassessment of the Korean War.

Stone wrote *The Hidden History of the Korean War*, which called into question the accepted version of the origins of the war as an unprovoked invasion by the North Koreans, and showed how the American military and the South Korean oligarchy did their best to drag out and disrupt the peace talks. The book—published in the U.S. in 1952 by the Monthly Review Press—met with an almost complete press blackout. Two chapters were published in Jean-Paul Sartre's magazine *Les Temps Modernes* and editions appeared in England, Italy, and Japan.

Cold war liberals attacked Stone over the book as a fellow-traveler. In one of the reviews of the *Hidden History*, Richard Rovere wrote in the *New York Post*, that Stone had become "merely querulous," "a writer who thinks up good arguments for poor communist positions." Rovere labeled the book "worse than obscene and more sorrowful than farce."

Stone was, in one sympathetic writer's words, "a premature anti-Cold Warrior."

I remember discovering Stone's book on the Korean War in the library at college. It was out-of-print and I hadn't known it existed. I read it with great excitement. It was a case study of the official cover stories that a government gives out to hide its real actions. As such, it was a primer for clearly viewing the Vietnam war. When I finished reading the book I was certain that I was a radical. I knew that the changes necessary to democratize and demilitarize American society were fundamental and not cosmetic, that they went beyond the election of a good liberal like McCarthy or McGovern.

#### The Weekly.

When the *Compass* folded in November 1952, Stone, at age 44, was out of a job. He spoke with the *Nation* about resuming the post of Washington editor, but Freda Kirchway, the *Nation's* editor at the time, felt that Stone was too much of a loner, too independent, and that at any moment he might disappear to the mid-east or far east on a story. With few other options, Stone decided to start his own paper.

"It was easier in those days to do such a thing," explained Stone over lunch. "It cost less than one-eighth of a cent for mailing and now it's two and a half. Luckily, we owned our own little three-bedroom home on Nebraska Ave., which we'd been forced to purchase during the war, so our overhead was low. I had severance pay of \$3,500, which I'd wisely had Ted Thackrey put in escrow in case the *Compass* folded. A few friends helped with small loans totalling \$3,000."

Stone had the *PM* and *Compass* mailing lists. He sent out an appeal and got back 3,500 initial subscribers. He paid himself \$125 a week, and his wife Esther worked as the combination bookkeeper and circulation manager. For a few months, Stone had an office downtown, but no one called, so he gave it up and worked out of his house.

The first issue of *I.F. Stone's Weekly* appeared on Jan. 17, 1953.

"When we reached 5,000 subscribers (at \$5 a year) after the first year, I knew we would make it," said Stone.

"My idea was to make the *Weekly* radical in viewpoint, but conservative in format. I deliberately chose a conservative typeface, so a reader could give it to a friend who wouldn't immediately dismiss it as a radical sheet. I used documents, the government's own sources, to support my arguments. I couldn't get inside in-

*Continued on page 18.*



his wife Esther, Stone started to expound on the difficulties of translating Plato. Suddenly he banged his fist on the table, startling the waiter, and said, "You know that Plato's a real bastard. He's so undemocratic; he's a regular reactionary old aristocrat."

Later in the evening, Stone took me on a tour of his upstairs study which is now stocked with hundreds of books on Greece. He rummaged around in the small room, crowded with tables and a desk piled high with reference books, and pulled out Greek grammars, diction-



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

## High Court's unwarranted warrants

Last week the Supreme Court made it more difficult for the government to enforce occupational health and safety protections for workers and less difficult for it to police the press.

In one case, the Court ruled that the Fourth Amendment barred Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) inspections of business sites without a warrant (see story, page 5); in another that it permitted warrants to search newspaper offices for evidence without prior warning.

Beneath the fashionable rhetoric celebrating human rights, individual dignity and civil liberties in the western world, the two decisions exemplify contrary trends quietly entrenching themselves in American life. The human rights and dignity of workers are allowed to be sacrificed to the prerogatives of property and police powers are growing against a free press.

### Worst safety record.

In 1970 an almost unanimous Congress passed the Occupational Safety and Health Act in response to the atrocious record of American business, the worst in the industrial world since the late 19th century. No other national capitalist class in an industrial nation has been so over-indulged or granted such permissiveness in putting profits ahead of workers' health and lives. Nor are the costs of medical care, hospitalization, lost working time, and workers compensation as high elsewhere as they are in the U.S.

By 1968 American employers were reporting 1,000 job-related deaths per month. Six years after passage of OSHA the federal Institute for Occupational Safety and Health estimated that 100,000 people were dying each year from work-related injuries and diseases. According to the Labor Department, about one in ten American workers each year—between five and six million—experience injury or disease resulting from work.

The OSHA legislation of 1970, for the first time, guaranteed the right of American working men and women to a safe and healthy workplace. It provided inspection procedures standard in other sectors of public health, and established agencies in the Labor Department to enforce the law. Or so it seemed.

From its inception, OSHA has been underfunded, understaffed and undermined by an Executive and Congress that worry more about "business confidence" than working people's health.

Congress appropriated money for a staff of only 1,500 inspectors, a force capable each year of examining, usually superficially, only 2 percent of the nation's five million workplaces. Only 400 of these inspectors have the skills for sophisticated assessment of chemical hazards. Congress has since weakened the law with exemptions and miniscule or suspended penalties.

### OSHA budget tied up in red tape.

The first OSHA head, Nixon-appointed George C. Guenther, as revealed in Watergate related disclosures, used lax enforcement to attract business support for Nixon in his 1972 re-election campaign. By executive order, President Ford required OSHA (and other health agencies) to prepare "inflation-impact statements" (i.e., estimates of costs to business) for each new regulation. President Carter has continued Ford's policy—most recently in holding up an OSHA regulation for fighting "brown lung" among 150,000 of the nation's 800,000 textile workers.

By last year, \$6.3 million of OSHA's



\$10.8 million budget was tied up in preparing inflation-impact statements, instead of being applied to enforcing the law.

Now comes the Supreme Court ruling. Presumably the same rule will apply to inspectors in meat, food, drugs, and in coal mining, railroads, and nuclear facilities, regulated by agencies other than OSHA.

As dissenting Justice John Paul Stevens said, given the already "enormous cost" of enforcing safety and health standards, "the new fangled inspection warrant" will impose "an additional strain on already overtaxed federal resources." It will further bog down enforcement in red tape and court litigation—the kind that business executives and right-wingers otherwise bitterly complain about but gleefully applaud when it comes to obstructing the protection of workers' health and lives.

The Court is stretching the Fourth Amendment (see box) to relieve property owners of social responsibility by considering workers employed on business premises, or business facilities and materials, the "persons, houses, papers, and effects" of the employers.

The Court's ruling and the ineffectiveness of OSHA vindicate the mineworkers' insistence on the right to strike over health and safety matters. They can rely neither on the tender mercies of the companies nor on the social commitment of their government. Other workers will draw similar conclusions.

The Court's ruling also cuts deeper. It dramatizes how good law protecting people from unreasonable searches and seizures is turned to perverted ends when committed to serving the prerogatives of property. It also illustrates the extent to which government protection of private property has been the main cause of the huge buildup of bureaucratic paperwork and red tape so much decried by the defenders of "free enterprise."

The day after its OSHA ruling, the Su-

preme Court construed the Fourth Amendment to enhance rather than restrain government power over the press. It permits police to obtain a warrant and, without prior notice, search newspaper offices (and other premises, including homes) for evidence in criminal cases. The Court made its first such ruling in 1967 in *Warden v. Hayden*, but now has applied it specifically to newspaper offices. The Court's ruling also applies to political criminal cases.

The Court held that the public interest

in stopping crime makes such intrusion on press freedom—and everyone else's liberty and privacy—reasonable. In so doing, it construes the Fourth Amendment in a manner that abridges the First Amendment, as dissenting Justice Potter Stewart pointed out.

The lower court federal judges whose ruling in the OSHA case the Supreme Court upheld, stated "Expediency is the argument of tyrants; it precedes the loss of every human liberty." Good dictum, wrong case.



### FOURTH AMENDMENT

*The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.*



### FIRST AMENDMENT

*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.*



# Letters

## Nach Hitler uns?

**M**UCH IS NOW BEING WRITTEN about the Holocaust, but little about why it occurred. The absence of such analysis is worth thinking about. History tells us that Hitler's first victims—the German Communists and Social Democrats—were too busy fighting each other (in the '20s and early '30s) to recognize that fascism was being backed by German high finance in order to destroy any organized effort of the working class to resist the austerity measures of no-growth economy. Hitler was able to pick off his enemies and victims one by one.

Those Jews who were not convinced that "it will never happen here," were systematically condemned to death by FDR—and most of the other world leaders—who shut their doors to these "undocumented workers." Fewer still seemed to care about the homosexuals or gypsies. And by the time the Poles, Slavs and Russians were made into slave laborers (to the same corporations which still run West Germany) and worked to death, Hitler had no reason to fear a "bad press."

Some of the lessons of the Holocaust are:

1) that fascism sneaks in under a cloak of "anti-communism". The victors of WWI permitted Hitler to break the Versailles Peace Treaty and rearm because he was going to save Europe from Communism just as he had saved Germany.

2) that an enlightened, united and courageous working class could have prevented fascism by taking control of the economy and putting the masses of unemployed to work producing all the things society needed—whether or not it could turn a profit.

3) that when we discriminate against Jews, homosexuals, Communists or undocumented workers we are playing Hitler's game—digging our own collective grave.

—A. Robert Kaufman  
Baltimore, Md.

## The central point

**I** AM GRATEFUL FOR DIANA Johnstone's article (*ITT*, May 24) on the death of Aldo Moro. It is one of the few pieces I have read that does not lose sight of the humane assumption that politics with no room for the individual is essentially depraved.

Moro's own government, in its ultimate interpretation of Moro's distress in political rather than human terms, revealed a deprivation no less grotesque, in its way, than that of the Red Brigades.

The criterion of political action, of authority, of principle, or of any other constructed thing on this earth, is whether or not it enhances life. The pre-emption of a man's raw suffering by the terminology of principle is just one more intellectual confidence trick performed on the political street corner.

When the life of a man is made ex-

pendable to abstractions (however ingeniously wielded), where is the central point around which we can orient our political responses?

—Maureen Mullarkey  
Brooklyn, N.Y.

## Florida socialists

**T**HANKS TO THE CIRCULATION department of *ITT*, which supplied us with a list of subscribers in South Florida, a socialist activist group was organized of Dade and Broward County readers. A dozen people participated in the first meeting and others expressed interest. We decided to hold monthly meetings.

Florida readers are active among liberal Democrats, senior citizens, women, consumers, etc. The socialist group will evaluate the work of our members and seek to bring socialist ideas into our activity and socialist consciousness to our contacts.

We decided to remain independent and non-partisan, because we want to obtain cooperation from people with diverse political views. In the process of practical work we hope to hammer out differences and reach agreement by democratic means. We will argue theory as it applies to our work. Who knows, we may even convince each other.

If we missed some interested readers, or people coming to Florida, please call Brian Peterson, 635-3096, in Dade County, or Leon Blum, 792-5299, in Broward County.

—Leon Blum  
Plantation, Fla.

## Not a black Democrat

**I**N JOHN JUDIS' ARTICLE ON Zoltan Ferency's campaign for the Democratic nomination for governor of Michigan (*ITT*, May 31), he referred to me as a "black Democrat" who endorses Ferency. I am not now and never have been a member of the Democratic party.

Indeed, I'm very proud that my supporters and I were able to put together an organization that was independent of the Democratic party, and that I was able to be elected to the Detroit city council as an independent socialist.

—Ken Cockrell  
Detroit, Mich.

## A needed symbol

**I** HOPE EVERYONE WHO GOES TO Seabrook this summer reads Marty Jezer's Clamshell piece (*ITT*, May 24). Nuclear power epitomizes capitalism: it creates a material basis for society that requires corporate centralization of power, infinite expansion, secrecy, xenophobia, and, of course, disregard for the lives of workers. Only a movement that strikes at the social roots of this technology can hope to resist it. That's something both workers and environmentalists need to learn.

Still, there are good reasons to continue the Seabrook occupation. First, the anti-nuke movement is daily becoming more coherent, expanding its base and moving beyond demonstration to education and action—in large part because of its cooperation with progressive labor groups (see Harvey Wasserman's article in the June *Mother Jones*). In the Chicago area, for example, there are now four anti-nuke alliances, and more on the way. Our experience has shown that civil disobedience and symbolic actions can be effective in strengthening the movement (not to mention educating the participants).

Second, it cannot be denied that Seabrook is the symbolic heart of the anti-nuke movement. Symbols may not win victories—but it's difficult to win without them. This summer's occupation should provide an opportunity to examine the way in which the movement has developed, and re-assessment of where it's going.

—Ben Davis  
Chicago

## Please, a dash of socialism!

**F**ROM *STAR WARS* (THAT CLASS-ist, sexist, crypto-racist, trite bore) to *Coming Home*, and nearly everything in between, *ITT* has been off the mark in its film reviews. Not only do most of your reviewers, especially P. Hertel, know little about good writing or good filmmaking, they usually have poor politics as well.

*Coming Home* is, in many ways, a fine film, with superb performances and tremendous dramatic impact. It raises important issues about how we live with the "handicapped" and about personal relationships. It succeeds in rousing pity, admiration and some anger.

But the film lacks a coherent political message. It posits individualism as the solution to both personal and societal ills. And, by making its protagonists the head cheerleader, the football captain and another whiz athlete, *Coming Home* avoids the issues of additional sufferings caused by poverty, race and anonymity in a competitive world.

I expect *ITT* to comment on these important issues. I do not want every film to be social-realist nor every reviewer to quote Mao or Enver Hoxha as her or his authority on film worthiness. Films can be entertaining without much political message attached to them. But when a film purports to be political, can't you at least find someone who will comment with a dash of socialism? Please?

—Christopher Preston  
Denver, Colo.

## It's clear to him

**D**ONALD VENES FEEBLE-MINDED review of Bunuel's *Obscure Object of Desire* (*ITT*, May 3) does little credit to a journal that sometimes augers well for the growing sophistication of the American left.

Like all his work, Bunuel's *Obscure Object* is a sharp political allegory. Once again, a bourgeoisie, grown decadent and devious, sets out to corrupt a working class that is not without devices of its own. It is vintage Bunuel to see psychological underpinnings to this exploitation, as well as strains of Wagner, and equally typical that, like Hegel, he endows the slave with resources that will sometimes make the master's task bitter.

Farbet is the archetype bourgeois who has grown oblivious to every sign of struggle except his own attempts at further conquest. He walks amid those who would destroy him with their bombs, the perfect *flâneur*, intent on rules of etiquette, and the sole source of life left to him, the defloration of virgin sisters of those who produce, something he has long since forgotten how to do. Of course he is ultimately dependent upon them all, and they in their present state of semi-awareness upon him.

I watched this film in Venice, and I can assure Mr. Venes that for the Italians the matter is no fairy tale. Revolutionary Army of the Infant Jesus indeed! Doesn't Venes realize that Curcio was raised a devout Catholic? The symbiotic relationship between a repressive Vatican and fanatic "revolutionary" terrorists is hardly obscure. Even *Newsweek* can fathom it.

—David N. Lyon  
Stockton, Calif.

## Is there sex after love?

**C**ONGRATULATIONS TO Roberta Lynch for being the first left writer to attempt a "balanced" critique of *Saturday Night Fever*.

Unfortunately, the result wasn't very balanced, and in some respects distorts the movie. Some points:

1. Lynch didn't say a word about the anti-racist material in the film.

2. Lynch calls the ending "happy." Calling it "happy" simply misses all the ambiguities of the situation and the ambivalences of the characters—ambiguous and ambivalent precisely because Stephanie and Tony have so preciously little

to be happy about and to look forward to.

3. Lynch complains that contempt for women "pervades the movie." That's true in the sense that all women in the film are portrayed as naive sex objects—but so are all the men. And at least Stephanie is in many ways much less naive, much less prone to sexual objectification, and stronger than Tony. If anything the movie is made less convincing by Stephanie's falling for someone as "silly" as Tony—and not the other way around. While Lynch correctly calls Tony the film's "hero," contrary to Lynch, everyone is not encouraged to identify with him. Except when he's dancing, he's a dumb klutz.

4. Lynch believes that Tony never advances over his primitive sexism, e.g., because he divides women into either "nice girls or cunts," and the movie doesn't show him sleeping with Stephanie. Without waxing theatrical, it's hard to imagine Tony's and Stephanie's relationship as anything other than a maturing process, one of growing mutual respect and one where they sleep together more as equals than as objects.

—Rick Kunnes  
Detroit, Mich.

## Inaccurate or misread?

**D**IANA JOHNSTONE, IN HER article on the Italian Red Brigades and Aldo Moro (*ITT*, May 24), has broken with her tradition of accuracy. She writes that the "Red Brigades are acting out a macabre parody of a certain Leninist revolutionary mystique that most of the left has long since abandoned." True, most of the left has abandoned this mystique. But no matter what one's position on Leninism, the tactics of the Red Brigades in no way resembles Leninism. Lenin and other Bolsheviks repeatedly polemicized against individual terrorism. Being Marxist, they realized that the killing of a Czar would in no way lead to the downfall of Czarism (or of capitalism, for that matter).

The tactics of the Red Brigades instead resemble those of the Narodniks ("Populists"), especially in their terroristic phase of the late 1870s and 1880s. A close examination of the ideologies of the Narodniks and the Red Brigades would reveal a clear parallel. Both claimed to represent, and substitute for, the "people."

Despite my criticism of Johnstone's article and of *ITT*'s general line, I am subscribing to *ITT*. I find it a useful source of information.

—Jim Devine  
Berkeley, Calif.

[Editor's note: We read Diana Johnstone's article, and the sentence quoted by Devine, as agreeing with his point.]

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

## BE A MINI-DISTRIBUTOR OF ITT

Order bundles of 5 (10, 15, up to 25) copies of *IN THESE TIMES* to be mailed directly to you every week for three months. You pay us in advance, at 20¢ a copy, and help our circulation grow!

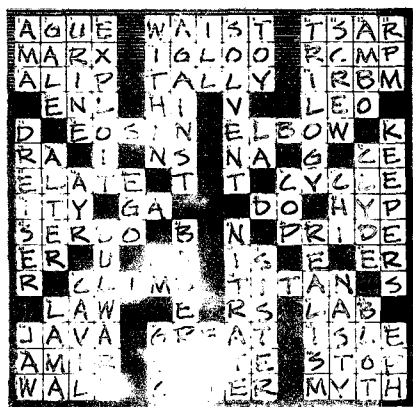
Are you a natural?  
Then fill in the coupon below:

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Street \_\_\_\_\_  
Town/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
Send me a bundle of \_\_\_\_\_ copies.  
\$\_\_\_\_\_ enclosed is payment for 3 months,  
at 20¢ each copy.

Solution to last  
week's crossword:

## An American Tragedy

By Mark West





# To prevent nuclear holocaust we need to think the unthinkable

As the Mobilization for Survival forges ahead with its spring offensive (sit-ins and arrests at Rock Flats and Barnwell, demonstrations for the opening of the UN Special Session on Disarmament, etc.), some activists are asking "What makes people reluctant to get involved in mass political action to get rid of nuclear weapons and reverse the arms race?"

I believe that one of the chief obstacles is psychological. The thought of nuclear holocaust is so terrifying to most people that they don't want to participate in actions that would force them to imagine nuclear war. Many people who are working against nuclear energy have told me "I can't deal with nuclear weapons, I feel too helpless. Getting rid of a reactor is a manageable problem."

There is a taboo against speaking about the likelihood of annihilation, even though this likelihood is rapidly increasing. Only 35 years ago, nuclear weapons had not yet been invented, and the world's major powers could fight with all their force for five years without causing permanent damage to the ecosphere. Now, nuclear weapons are about to spread to many countries, and a nuclear war could wipe out our species, and perhaps life itself on this small planet. Human consciousness has trouble grasping this ever-accelerating terror.

The U.S. invented nuclear weapons, used them twice, has led in the development of more sophisticated weapons and delivery systems, and still is the leading arms merchant to the rest of the world. Americans in 1978 are living with and supporting this terror. Yet most pay taxes and vote without wondering whether the bombs bought and the officials elected will hasten the end of history. Most prepare for the future without obvious worry about whether there will be a future. Only the declining birth rate, perhaps, indicates a deep-seated concern about whether children would have time to grow up and old.

Robert Jay Lifton, a psychiatrist, is one of the very few people to wonder about and study this nonchalance. Since 1962, he has worked with survivors of the Hiroshima atomic bombing, trying to understand how human beings cope with immersion in death, the loss of hope for immortality, and the threat of extinction. He has identified a mechanism which he calls "psychic numbing" and says "it operates for individuals toward all weaponry, toward all dangers to the environment, and all events ultimately involving death... An inability (or unwillingness) to open oneself to the human consequences of technology, so common in this age, is one of the fundamental obstacles to dealing reasonably with nuclear weapons..."

People have always had to face what Vonnegut calls "plain old death"—individual death; that is hard enough. Comfort comes from connection with the past, via ancestors and history, and connection with the future, via descendants and a sense of contributing some good work or influence. This sense of continuity is now gravely threatened. Vulnerability to annihilation as a species is new; it divides living people from previous history; the sense of symbolic immortality via connection to the future is jeopardized. We are all haunted by the specter of Armageddon. It robs our actions of meaning. A mushroom cloud of anxiety shadows our life-choices.

People have myriad ways of avoiding awareness of this anxiety: forgetting, denying that the bombs will ever be used, spacing out with drugs, or commodities. Some tell themselves that the Russians will conquer us if we don't continue the arms race (as if the Russians were invulnerable to radiation). Some believe that the leaders must be trusted (this one works poorly, since Vietnam and Watergate). Some decide that they can't do anything about the situation anyway, so they may as well ignore it. Most people keep themselves too busy pursuing individual goals to think much about our collective fate. Many believe that thinking about nuclear

war is morbid, antisocial, and even a sign of mental illness. Some concentrate on more familiar, unthinkable, and limited evils—like racism, or pollution, or monopoly capitalism—all important, but still, not dealing with the new and horrible possibility of total extinction.

We must stop psychic numbing, and quickly. It is crazy and antisocial *not* to worry about nuclear holocaust, and it is sane and responsible to think, speak, write, and demonstrate against the weapons that make holocaust possible. We render ourselves powerless by refusing to imagine extinction, and thus refusing to imagine what we can do to avoid it. Individuals may be powerless but the American people collectively have a special ability and responsibility to prevent life on earth from being snuffed out.

People need to break the social taboo against discussing Armageddon. A process of consciousness-raising must take place, in which people discuss their fear, their nightmares, and their despair with family, friends, fellow-workers, and fellow citizens. Then we will be able to comfort each other, share our sources of hope and strength, explore creative ideas, and join together for change. The Mobilization for Survival will only work if people face reality, and pool their forces to fight the forces of death.

Hans Koning

## Ain't Misbehavin'—exercise in white nostalgia

*Ain't Misbehavin'*, the musical about Fats Waller or rather about his songs, opened on Broadway to 35 raves and not one sour word. Or so the ads state; I haven't counted the reviews but if it says 35, I'm sure it's 35. The fact astounds and bewilders me.

This show, put together by Richard Maltby Jr., has—before the curtain goes up—the gloss, the electricity in the audience, which in Manhattan go with real success. The music is great. I ain't a music critic, anyway. The audience is standard Broadway audience, East Side, Central Park West, Westchester and Connecticut. When I was there I saw two black faces in all of the stalls, but as they were in house-seats, I'd guess they belonged to actors, or anyway to show business people. They loved the show. The audience loved the show. They sniggered about sexy allusions. They cheered the dancing and singing.

And yet this is the most appalling step-and-fetchit production to go on the stage since *Gone With the Wind* packed them in and Shirley Temple had a lill' black six-

year-old as her personal maid. This isn't an Uncle Tom show—oh no, it goes back a couple of decades before that. This is an exercise in white nostalgia for the fine days when Negroes stayed on the stage or behind pianos and bars and white folks who cared to mix with them went to Harlem after show time and enjoyed them in their natural habitat.

I'm not being pedantic here or bleeding heart or anything like that; there isn't a shadow of a doubt when you watch the whole, the show and its honky audience reacting to the show, that that is what all this is about. Somehow they've found some black people to sing, "Why am I so black, and blue?...I'm white inside," (and sing it beautifully, of course), and the folks who are white in and out clap their white hands with delight at this proper sentiment; they'd thought they'd never hear those soothing words again in their lifetimes. Up yours, Stokely.

I don't think Neil Carter and the rest of them are renegades. With eight out of ten actors and actresses out of work, who's to blame them? Maybe they're

apolitical, as they used to say during the Viet war. Maybe they don't give a damn. Maybe they're really white inside. Who cares? What astounds and bewilders me is that nobody, not one critic, not one black man or woman, has so far even voiced a modicum of discomfort. I mean, this is "Springtime for Hitler," but without the jokes, and blacks instead of Jews.

As I said, I'm not writing about music here. If anyone wants to know, I love Fats Waller. If he lived now, he'd be different. But apart from that, Maltby has directed his show to caricature even the Wallace words and tongue-in-cheek attitudes of 40 years ago: his men in their pseudo-elegance think they look like elegant white folks, ha ha, his women are so ugly in their distorted sexy outfits that no suburban theater-goer need have an uneasy minute in his or her bed that night: here's no threat to anything they do or don't do or believe in. These men and women on the stage are so different from "us" that they'd be welcome to scrub our wives' or husbands' backs in the bathtub without a second thought.

Is this how integrated, sophisticated New York in the year 1978 *really* feels about the races?

And a couple of blocks farther north in a little theater another black play, "The Biko Inquest," is on the stage. Or was at the time of writing; I wouldn't be surprised if it presently died a quiet and respectable death. Even on opening night many a seat gaped empty; and during the intermission and afterward I didn't hear a word about the play or better, documentary report, among the public. Presumably that first night audience had already seen *Ain't Misbehavin'*, they were doing their liberal duty listening to the inquest in Biko's murder, and what more was there to be said? "Are you going to Easthampton this weekend?" "Have you seen that Chaplin thing?"

Biko, who was bludgeoned to death in a South African police station, and "I'm white inside," within walking distance of each other. We can accommodate anything in this city, and it doesn't spoil our after-theater dinners, either.

### EXPOCUBA '78

A call to artists ages 10 years to adult to enter original poster designs on themes appropriate to: The Cuban Revolution, Cuba-U.S. ties, or Cuba and the Third World, in this first contest-exhibition dedicated to developing friendship between U.S. and Cuban people.

Awards will be given to those posters chosen by the Selection Committee made up of nationally known artists, and other persons familiar with Cuba. The Grand Award is an expense-paid trip to Cuba and an opportunity to meet with Cuban artists and participate in people's art workshops. . . . plus three additional prizes of \$200 and an original work of Cuban art.

A selection of the posters will become part of a national exhibit which will tour the United States and Cuba. For more specific information, write: EXPOCUBA '78, P.O. Box 609, North Amherst, Massachusetts 01059.

DEADLINE FOR ALL ENTRIES: JUNE 15, 1978

(Sponsored by the Venceremos Brigade)

## CATALYST

A SOCIALIST JOURNAL OF THE SOCIAL SERVICES

### TABLE OF CONTENTS Volume I, Number 1

- Towards a New Age of Social Services: Lessons to Be Learned from Our History
- Black Organizing: The Need for a Conceptual Model of the Ghetto
- Social Welfare in Capitalism: A Socialist Analysis
- Radical Therapy: A Gestalt Perspective
- Social Workers, Class, and Professionalism
- PLUS other features, news, and book reviews

### RATES (4 issues)

Regular: \$10; Unemployed: \$6; Institutional: \$20; Sustaining: \$25

Make checks payable to:

INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL SERVICE ALTERNATIVES  
Department AM  
P.O. Box 1144 Cathedral Station  
New York, N.Y. 10025



By Peter Marcuse

Conflicts in the U.S. today are not those predicted 40 or 60 years ago. The experiences of 1848, the Russian Revolution and post-World War I turmoil in Europe and the Great Depression in the U.S., led to the expectation of broader worker/management conflicts, aggressive labor parties actively seeking political power, increasingly radical demands for an economic restructuring of society starting with the work-place. But despite the militancy of miners, copper workers, teachers, particularly at the rank and file level, the AFL-CIO is a bastion of the established order. No labor party is even on the horizon, and pressures for work-place changes seem to come as much from bankers, taxpayers, or mine-owners as from workers.

Yet conflicts there are plenty. IN THESE TIMES reports on 25,000 squatters in Mexico City forcing the central government to concede their rights to their illegally occupied housing sites. Groups such as ACORN in Arkansas and Mass Fair Share and the Campaign for Economic Democracy in California, or the work of public interest groups and co-ops or anti-nuclear campaigns abound. So do alternative policies for state and local government and consumer issues of all sorts.

These are not old style class conflict. "Urban conflicts" might be a better name for them. "Urban conflict" would also be a better word for the bitter public struggles of the '50s: the ghetto revolts, welfare rights clashes, urban renewal protests, even many of the conflicts around environmental pollution. Have these "urban conflicts" replaced those between worker and employer as the most critical conflicts in society? Have residential location, housing, education, environment, consumer protection, "quality of life," replaced class as the source of fundamental social change? Are they related to the traditional class cleavages? What are their long-term political, social, economic implications?

Some exciting, albeit difficult new theoretical work is being done on these questions, much of it in Europe. Manuel Castells and a group in Paris have done pioneering work; others in France, Italy, England, and Spain have contributed. Their approach has centered around examination of the actual struggles of the urban social movements that participate in them. Several books have recently appeared that make their work more accessible to American readers: Castells' *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach* (M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, 1977), Christopher Pickvane's *Urban Sociology: Critical Essays* (Havstock Press, 1977), and Michael Harloe's *Captive Cities* (Wiley, New York, 1977).

## IN DEPTH

# Urban conflicts transforming the class conflict

Conflict now takes place in the streets, rather than in the factories, Castells argues.

Three types of explanations have been put forward in recent years to explain the new order of conflicts: "new class theories," "fiscal crisis theories," and now "urban movement theories," such as Castells'. The lines between them are not sharp, and they share many concerns, such as with the role of the state or the issues raised by critical theory, and many contributions do not fall within any explanation, but the categories are helpful for a first overview.

New class theories argued that, while the relationships of production were still key to social conflicts, the classes arrayed on each side could not be simply described as workers and capitalists. The specific relationships of professionals, managers, students, white collar workers, those engaged in unproductive as well as productive labor, racial minorities, women, artists, had to be considered. Not only the proletariat, but many other groups had structured interests opposite to those of the capitalist class. And the capitalist class was often significantly divided.

Fiscal crisis theories highlighted the changing role of the state. James O'Connor and others (i.e., Union of Radical Political Economists) have argued that the state is taking over many functions previously privately performed, or not previously needed, both in the sphere of production (accumulation) and in the political/social/ideological arena (legitimation). These expanded functions, ranging from mass transit, highways, and urban renewal through vocational education and health services to welfare payments and food stamps, require vastly expanded state expenditures. These in turn require expanded tax revenues, and no one, whether

coupon clipper, business executive, small homeowner, salaried worker or wage earner, wants to pay higher taxes. So political crises follow one upon the other, the New York City fiscal crisis being typical. At the economic level there is doubt whether the kind of growth required by monopoly capitalism can take place with this new shift of functions and resources, from the private sector to the state, even though that shift was required by monopoly capitalism itself.

"Urban social movements" is the name given by Castells to the organizations and activities that lead to "qualitatively new effects on the social structure."

While Castells' approach is not inconsistent with that of some of the new class theorists or the fiscal crisis theorists, Castells focused on the consumption-end of the productive process. "Collective consumption" is the term he uses to denote all those goods and services provided publicly for collective consumption: parks, roads, health care, education, public services, community facilities. "Urban conflicts" he then defines as those centering on collective consumption, and he sees their importance growing as the importance of collective consumption grows. While they are linked back to the classic relations of production, because collective consumption is necessary for the reproduction of the labor force, the origin of these conflicts is at the consumption end. They take place in the streets, rather than in the factories. The picketing is at municipal offices more often than at corporate ones.

What are the potentials of such urban conflicts? On one level analyzing concrete

conflicts, Castells tries to be very precise. Success or failure will depend on carefully, almost fussily, defined categories: the size and nature of the "stake," the "social base" of the movement, the "social force" that spearheads it, the organization directly involved, whether the tactic used is mobilization or negotiation, whether initial confrontations result in victory or defeat, whether the "conjuncture" of other events is favorable or not. The categories may be more carefully defined than their actual use warrants, but they lead to fruitful analyses: In *The Urban Question* he discusses the FRAP in Montreal, squatters in Chile, new towns in England, urban renewal in the U.S., the "urban reconquest" (renewal) of Paris.

On the longer-term potentials of urban conflict, Castells is also incisive. His theoretical analysis leads him to conclude that urban conflicts not linked to workplace conflicts will ultimately be only reformist; to produce "non-reformist reforms" (Gorz' phrase) linkages of urban conflicts to direct production-related issues and movements are crucial.

His case studies don't always prove his point, and some even contradict it; but the evidence is incomplete. "Successes" are hard to find. Allende's Chile is a painful and ambiguous one; the Russian Revolution antedates the growth of collective consumption; urban issues were not dominant in China, or Cuba, or Vietnam. The situations more likely to lead to "successes" now are indeed those with which Castells is directly politically linked: the activities of the left parties in France, Italy, and Spain. Castells is close to Carillo and most of the left parties in Europe link urban conflicts with basic national political and economic changes. "Anticapitalist coalitions" and the "political class struggle" rather than the simplistic ideas of worker-capitalist class struggles underlie the new strategy. We may know the outcome better shortly.

In the meantime, Castells' work, as well as that included in the Pickvane and Harloe books, and the ongoing U.S. work (for which David Harvey's *Social Justice of the City* and James O'Connor's *Fiscal Crisis of the City* were seminal, and Alkaly and Mermelstein's collection, *The Fiscal Crisis of the Cities* is one of the best recent collections) are coming to grips with issues of immediate political importance. Urban conflicts are here and now, and regardless of their ultimate outcome, activists will be involved with them on a day-to-day basis. These writings help highlight the issues, the forms of organization, the linkages, that are most promising of success.

Peter Marcuse teaches urban planning at Columbia University.

## IN CHICAGO

The Midwest's largest selection of Marxist and leftwing books and periodicals. Many titles in Spanish & German. 20% discount on all new books. Mail inquiries are welcome. 11 to 7:30 p.m., 6 days (312) 545-3667

## Guild Bookstore

1118 W. Armitage, Chicago 60614

## ADVERTISEMENT

## IMPEACH BRZEZINSKI

## Making a Big Move?

Then make a small one, too. Send us your new address with your old address label. And we'll make sure that your subscription to IN THESE TIMES is uninterrupted.

### New Address

Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_

## BEHIND THE SCENES

### IN TWO WORLDS

#### The People and the State in the German Democratic Republic and the USA

by Elaine Mensh & Harry Mensh

Examines democracy and the state, advocacy and criticism, the status of artists, intellectuals and working people, the issue of women's equality, attitudes and practices regarding racism in a socialist and a capitalist state.

## ORDER FORM

Enclosed is \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ copy(ies) of BEHIND THE SCENES IN TWO WORLDS.  
☐ paper \$4.95 or ☐ cloth \$15.00. Please include 50¢ postage and handling charges for each book ordered.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Mail to Dept. T1

INTERNATIONAL PUBLISHERS

381 Park Avenue South • New York, N.Y. 10016

# Sustain Us.

In These Times has begun a drive for sustainers—interested supporters who are willing to contribute regularly to help us meet our expenses.

We have established an initial goal of 100 sustainers who will contribute an average of \$15 each month. We are far from that goal, and we are asking you to help us attain it.

Please send whatever amount you can.

## I will be a sustainer.

I've enclosed my first month's pledge, and will send \_\_\_\_\_ a month.

☐ I'd appreciate a reminder from In These Times the first of the month.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: In These Times

1509 N. Milwaukee Ave.  
Chicago, Ill. 60622



# Rescuing Mobutu

*Continued from page 9.*

vestments in Zaire amounting to \$800 million, 40 times those of France. There were 25,000 Belgian nationals in the country. Most of the whites trapped in Kolwezi were Belgian. But as Mobutu tartly observed, the Belgians were the last to arrive and the first to leave the contested area. He was outraged by the rumor that the Belgian government was considering negotiations with the rebels to form a new government. Last year similar rumors were heard.

The Belgians more than others have suffered from the whims of Mobutu's nationalization policies. The Tindemans government is moderately socialist and probably imagines that doing business with an openly socialist government in Zaire could not be much worse than the present one.

## European rivalries.

The West Germans also have a significant stake in Zaire. In 1976 the Zaire government virtually ceded its sovereignty over a large portion of northeast Shaba region to a West German firm (OTRAG) for the construction of a nuclear missile base envisaged as a kind of German Cape Kennedy.

The rescue mission of 1978 was noticeably lacking in participation by African nationals. Even Morocco, which had provided the troops for the 1977 Shaba rescue mission, hesitated to come to the

aid of Mobutu.

The government of French President Giscard, however, stepped happily forward to assume the lead role. Fortified by a recent election victory and unhampered by consultation with the French parliament, Giscard was able to act decisively. In the west we are regularly reminded of the 40,000 Cuban troops in Africa, but rarely hear of the 12,000 French troops stationed there. But in recent months the French had intervened militarily in the Sahara and Chad, in addition to the first Shaba conflict. Giscard's goal is to build a Eurafica around former French colonies as well as Zaire, which he has referred to as the world's second most important francophone country.

Between 600 and 1,000 French legionnaires (many of them actually German nationals) were dropped on Kolwezi. As word of the Franco-Belgian intervention arrived in the city the civilian death toll mounted. The French were apparently the chief target of hostility because of their part in the 1977 mission. There followed indiscriminate killing of both whites and wealthy blacks associated either with the government or Gecamines, the national mining company. It is still unclear whether most of the killing was done by undisciplined rebel troops or by local youths sympathetic to their cause.

While the press carried regular reports of the death toll among whites, little was

said about Africans. Official French estimates indicated that at least 200 Europeans lost their lives. But more than 500 rebels and African residents of Kolwezi were also estimated to have been killed. Within a few days Belgian troops followed by French began their exit from the city, after having driven the rebel forces into the bush. Kolwezi became a ghost town with no electricity or running water. Under the very best of circumstances it would take at least six months to get the copper mines back into operation.

Mobutu made a dramatic appearance in Paris where he profusely thanked Giscard for his aid. And in a grand gesture of magnanimity he agreed to meet with Belgian Prime Minister Tindemans. The two heads of state arrived at a reconciliation. Mutual interests once again prevailed.

## The real issues.

Once again the western powers have contrived to prop up the sick man of Africa, claiming to be shoring up the "free world's" defense against communism. With little evidence of participation by Cubans, much less Soviets, in the Shaba conflict, the Carter administration seemed bent on linking Soviet aggression in Africa with the impending SALT talks. The hue and cry went up that the Congress had tied the President's hands so that there was no way to respond to that aggression. Press accounts of the atrocities in Zaire whipped up public sentiment for action. Suddenly it was 1964 again.

All of which obscures the real issues in Africa. When social and economic conditions become intolerable people will rebel. Zaire has for 13 years been woefully mis-

managed and corruptly governed. The rebels are native sons of Zaire whose legitimate aspiration is to overthrow the unpopular and corrupt Mobutu regime.

Even the most partisan western observer would have to concede that the Mobutu regime is a basket case. It currently owes \$3 billion in foreign debts despite attempts by private banks and international agencies to bail it out. Mobutu himself is generally acknowledged to be among the world's wealthiest individuals. He has fostered the creation of a rapacious class of pseudo-bourgeoisie through programs of nationalization since 1973. These programs have been so ineffective in stimulating economic growth that he has had to entice expatriate businessmen back into the country with handsome investment codes.

The effect on the masses has been disastrous. While the ruling political and economic elite are given over to ostentatious living and addiction to imported goods (much of it from South African and Rhodesia) the average Zairean can scarcely afford to pay rent or buy food. The government has become a gross violator of human rights. Whenever there is domestic unrest scapegoats are found and imprisoned or executed. The Zairean army remains a remarkably ineffective fighting unit. Ill-housed and fed, often irregularly paid, Zairean soldiers are highly susceptible to defection or abusing and pillaging the people.

If the "Katangans" do not succeed in overthrowing Mobutu, someone soon will.

*Galen Hull taught for several years at the National University in Zaire in the department of political science.*

# Eugene

*Continued from page 4.*

attributed the defeat on the difficulty of overcoming the prejudices and fears of people whose ideas and feelings about sexuality were formed a long time ago. "No on 51" carried only in the precincts around the university and a few other neighborhoods around the city populated primarily by younger people.

As the returns came in, gay rights supporters, who had obviously prepared for the contingency, began a candlelight march from their downtown hotel headquarters to the county courthouse where the votes were being counted. "We're disappointed, and we're angry, but we're strong," was the dominant mood.

Speaking to the demonstration outside

the courthouse, an ECHR spokeswoman drew cheers when she said, "One thing that's clear to me personally, and from other people I know right here, is that we all have our heads a little higher. We have cast off the internalized oppression that there's something wrong with us. And that's probably the biggest victory, and we should all feel very proud." The rally ended with a tearful and defiant chorus of "We Shall Overcome."

At the press conference the day after the election campus minister Doug Huneke announced a drive for a "Fund for Justice" to monitor discrimination against gays and test in the courts VOICE's contention that special protection for gays is unnecessary. Other ECHR supporters have been talking about a reworded ballot measure that would avoid the special privileges charge.

*Stefan Ostrach is associated with Pacific Northwest Research Center in Eugene.*

stories in the back pages of the *New York Times* reported that Rome, Toronto and Tokyo had detected the test. He tore out the "shirt tails" and put them in a file in the basement.

The following spring there were Congressional hearings on disarmament, focusing on whether the Russians could escape a test ban treaty by underground testing. In an attempt to undercut the hearings, the AEC released a report saying that such tests could not be detected more than 200 miles away. Stone dug out the clips, then drove over to the Geodetic Survey office, a part of the Commerce department, and asked them to check their records, which showed that the Nevada test had been detected 1,200 miles to the east in Fayetteville, Ark., and 2,600 miles to the north in Fairbanks, Ala. Stone printed the facts, and finally, three weeks later, the regular press picked up the story.

In the 1960s, with the escalation of the Vietnam war protest, the *Weekly's* circulation began to creep over 20,000 and towards 50,000. Stone took on a series of young assistants to help him with the work. "I was a terrible boss," said Stone. "I don't know why anyone took the job."

One of Stone's assistants in those years was Peter Osnos, now foreign editor of the *Washington Post*. I arrived for breakfast with Osnos one recent Sunday morning just as his phone was ringing. It was Izzy calling with advice on how the *Post* should be covering the Middle East peace talks.

"Izzy is as involved with core issues as he ever has been," offered Osnos. "His ideas are as fresh and provocative as ever."

# AIM

*Continued from page 4.*

der. Knives and blood-soaked articles of clothing found at the scene were linked not to Skyhorse and Mohawk, but to the three eyewitnesses for the prosecution, who were granted immunity from prosecution for their testimony against Skyhorse and Mohawk.

By early February 1978, when the defense opened its case, FBI surveillance of the American Indian Movement had become a major issue in the trial.

Virginia De Luce Wilson, alias "Blue Dove," had infiltrated the organization and positioned herself as treasurer of the L.A. chapter of AIM. Wilson testified that she was a paid FBI informer from 1973 to 1976. She also admitted to driving Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk to a political demonstration in Los Angeles, where they were photographed by undercover agents on the day of Aird's murder.

A federal prosecution of two other AIM leaders (Dennis Banks and Russell Means) at Wounded Knee, S.D., in 1974, led to an acquittal when the defense exposed FBI attempts to manipulate evidence. Judge Fred J. Nichol, at the

conclusion of the trial, cited a "pattern of misconduct" by the FBI and the U.S. Attorney's office that showed a greater concern for convictions than justice.

The Skyhorse-Mohawk defense sought to follow a similar strategy of exposure by issuing subpoenas for all documents and agents involved in surveillance of the L.A. chapter of AIM. Their contention, that the government's prosecution was politically motivated, hinged on the evidence they sought.

Bureaucratic foot-dragging and legal battles over the subpoenas continued through the opening of the defense case until Dodson finally ruled, with a discernable smile, the agents and documents were protected by their classification and not relevant to the trial.

Denied access to evidence vital to the political issues of the trial, the defense was restricted to hammering away at the credibility of government witnesses.

Without proven motive, murder weapon, or credible eye-witness testimony, the case collapsed of its own inadequacy.

Nonetheless, the shadowy presence of the FBI in the American Indian Movement, and at the camp the night of Aird's murder, raises the question of bureau involvement in the decision to release three blood-stained suspects in exchange for testimony against Skyhorse and Mohawk.

# OSHA

*Continued from page 5.*

disulfide had done.

The company had to post the report in the plant and some people started reading it and getting their own ideas. Workers started calling James Reese after hours and telling him about health and safety problems in their particular departments—fumes, chemicals, machines without guards, trucks without brakes, etc.

Some of the chemical mixers came to James one day with a label that they'd taken off a bag. They said they'd just started using this dusty stuff called Cyclo-Fil, but the labels on the bag had them worried: "Caution—Contains Asbestos Fibers—Avoid Creating Dust—Breathing Asbestos Dust May Cause Serious Bodily Harm."

When called by James, the company safety man said there was no asbestos in the plant—"that stuff is called Cyclo-Fil." James persisted and Olin agreed to send the material off to be tested by an impar-

tial party. Two months later the report finally came back from Georgia Tech research scientists. The next day they ordered that all Cyclo-Fil be taken out of the plant, and fired the purchasing agent who had ordered the material.

James Reese: "People have been turning up things, all these untested chemicals, like this kepone thing in Virginia. They had to even bury the plant and the St. James River got ruined. I think it's coming to the stage where industry is going to have to first prove its point. It's not gonna work the way it's been working. Cause people, when they start to see what's really happenin', then they'll take things into their own hands and start closing these places down."

"The more pressure that's put on them, the more publicity that can get generated, you start to get results from pushing on 'em, from finding out stuff about kepone and vinyl chloride and asbestos. It's gonna start building, and people aren't gonna stand for it no more..."

*Chip Hughes and Len Stanley work on occupational health issues in North Carolina. This is a shortened version of an article that appeared in Southern Exposure (P.O. Box 230, Chapel Hill, NC 27514).*

# Stone

*Continued from page 13.*

formation, and no one would've believed it if I had.

"I found a good, honest printer—and like a good bourgeois, I paid my bill every week. The whole thing went remarkably well, and I never had any problems with censorship, from the post office or the printer."

Stone's method of filling the *Weekly* was affected by his physical condition. He was going deaf.

"Since I couldn't hear very well," explained Stone, "I got in the habit of going around to Congressional offices the day after hearings and reading the transcript. I'd always seem to pick up some nugget that the daily papers missed."

Stone also possesses an incredible memory. He was an inveterate reader of newspapers, including the European press, and he would tear and file away clips of items that interested him. Later he would remember items that proved some government official was lying; he'd rustle through his files, find it, and he had a minor scoop.

A classic example of Stone at work is how he caught the Atomic Energy Commission in inconsistent statements about nuclear tests. The first underground nuclear test was held in Nevada in the fall of 1957. Edward Teller and other government scientists were saying that such tests could not be detected over 200 miles away. However, Stone noticed the day after the test that little, one-inch wire



## LIFE IN THE U.S.

## OFF THE RECORD



**“Good as Gold”**

By Sidney Blumenthal  
and Danny Schechter

### Vital Voices

“We are going to be making labor history—the first union walkout on behalf of management,” remarked one of New York’s best known investigative journalists, a staff writer on the *Village Voice*, the flagship of the nation’s alternative weeklies. As it turned out the threatened strike, slated for May 18, proved unnecessary when the *Voice*’s publisher, William Ryan, capitulated to staff demands to reinstate editor Marianne Partridge, who had been unceremoniously sacked the week before. (At that time it was leaked that she was to be replaced by David Schneiderman, deputy editor of the *New York Times*’ op-ed page, who was said to have inked a contract with the *Voice*.)

The Partridge firing and rehiring is the latest chapter in the recent stormy history of the *Voice*, now owned by conservative Australian newspaper tycoon Rupert Murdoch. Murdoch bought the paper after a fierce financial battle with magazine magnate Clay Felker, who ran the *Voice* under the same corporate umbrella as *New York* and *New West* magazines. To acquire the slick magazine properties Murdoch had to buy the *Voice* as part of the package.

While Felker’s friends on *New York* walked out rather than submit to Murdoch’s authority, almost all the *Voice* writers stayed on, turning their editorial thunder on the new owner. Murdoch may have been the boss, but the *Voice* staff insisted on control.

Marianne Partridge was one of the reasons they were able to get away with the sort of independence, even insolence, that characterized the paper’s tone. An editor at *Rolling Stone* before assuming

the top job at the *Voice*, Partridge had only been at the paper six months when it changed hands. Fortunately for her, she was made a party to the sales agreement, giving her a modicum of security in the form of a contract until January of next year. It was this legal wrinkle, a hold-over from the Felker tenure, that protected her job this May when William Ryan, Murdoch’s man on the spot, tried to dump her.

But if legalities made her immune to arbitrary discharge, it was ultimately staff loyalty that insured the matter didn’t end up in the courts. As the paper’s press critic Alexander Cockburn wrote in his *Voice* column, “Indignation gave way to outrage; outrage surrendered to uproar.” And the issue was resolved in favor of Partridge and the staff. “Victory, in other words, is far more agreeable than defeat,” Cockburn said. “I’ll spare you further commercials about unity, but they remain valid all the same.”

The *Voice* is an important newspaper in New York City and in many ways a model for the numerous weeklies that have been established in other major cities. Its circulation has risen from 17,000 in 1962 to 160,000 today, a period during which three major New York dailies and the *Long Island Press* went out of business. It was also a time when many “underground” weeklies failed, including several attempts in New York.

The signal factor in its success is that it is a writers’ newspaper.

The *Voice* features a balance of arts and politics, muckraking and restaurant reviews. The *Voice*’s writers are distinct personalities and their bylines are well-known. But this hasn’t meant that the paper displays a gossipy superficiality. If anything its sustained radical journalism—Jack Newfield’s nursing home exposes, Joe Conason’s investigations into the city’s political clubhouses, James Ridgeway’s watch in Washington on national

politics, and Alexander Cockburn’s monitoring of the press—suggests that there is a sizeable market for critical and crusading articles.

The paper’s integrity has remained intact in spite of fears that Murdoch would turn it into a sensationalist sheet. There are probably two key reasons why the *Voice* has not undergone a Murdoch-inspired transformation:

The staff is unionized and has resisted, as the Partridge episode demonstrates, what it feels to be incursions on its turf;

And the *Voice* readership is loyal to a specific product. This audience may be more highly committed than other newspaper readerships, a reflection of the political direction of the *Voice*. This, too, makes it difficult for Murdoch to alter it. Of course, he may not want to, since it continues to be a valuable property.

Publishers of other alternative papers, including this one, might learn lessons from the *Voice*. Its professionalism, journalistic aggressiveness, and bright design might be emulated with success.

### Backlash?

The *Voice*’s example is not considered positive by many major media managers. Speaking before a conference on media responsibility recently, William F. Thomas, editor of the *Los Angeles Times* noted, “Newspapers harm their credibility by becoming advocates or permitting staff to become civic activists or champions of public causes.”

Thomas said that since the 1960s papers have moved from simply reporting only established views to publishing “far more diverse views.” This seems to make him somewhat uneasy.

Yet the *L.A. Times* itself, in the past 15 years or so, has garnered national respectability by turning away from an implacable conservative policy to a much more liberal outlook. Its staff ranks with

the best; last year Robert Scheer, former *Ramparts* editor, was hired as an investigative reporter. He promptly exposed CBS’ past links to the CIA.

Thomas’ attitude may be a throwback to the earlier *L.A. Times* and an earlier era. The only activism on the *Times* then was partisan Republicanism and collusion in the economic growth of Los Angeles. The paper’s owners were more than mere boosters; they were developers and speculators as well.

That story is told in detail in a new book, *Thinking Big*, by Robert Gottlieb and Irene Wolf. The story of the *Times* is really the story of Los Angeles’ economic development, they contend. And their thesis, punctuated with ample documentation, is very persuasive.

### Who owns critics?

Rumors have been wafting about lately that John McGoff, owner of the Panax newspaper chain, may be buying the fledgling *Washington Journalism Review*, which has been foundering financially after just three issues.

For McGoff, purchase of a journalism review in a media-conscious city like Washington would mean a measure of legitimacy, something he apparently craves, because he has been the target of media critics himself.

McGoff is the most prominent American publisher to defend South Africa’s racial policies. His Panax chain includes substantial interests in that country, and his papers here feature pro-apartheid propaganda.

One of Panax’s correspondents, Lester Kinsolving, was tossed out of the State Department’s journalists’ organization because it was proved that he had accepted money from South African lobbyists. In the current issue of the *Washington Journalism Review* Kinsolving defends himself against charges made in the previous number by Ann Compton, ABC’s White House correspondent, that he is part of the press corps’ “lunatic fringe.”

In this light, John McGoff’s buying of a journalism review might be likened to a hog butcher opening a kosher meat market.

McGoff created a stir last year when he ordered his American papers to print without revision articles claiming that President Carter approved adulterous affairs carried on by his White House staff. Two editors of Michigan Panax papers were fired after they refused to print the pieces.

Curiously, Jimmy Carter’s personal secretary, Susan Clough, showed up as a guest at an exclusive party in late May on McGoff’s new 125-foot yacht for a sail down the Potomac. Clough’s escort was Marvin Watson, Lyndon Johnson’s former personal secretary and now ambassador to Switzerland and the gnomes of Zurich. Other luminaries with whom McGoff carried favor were Senate Majority Leader Harry Byrd, top oil industry lobbyist Frank Ikard, and assorted foreign ambassadors. This social gala was reported in the back pages of the *Washington Star*, a newspaper McGoff once tried to buy.

While McGoff may have his eye on the *WJR* and the capital’s social set, another more established journalism review, *More*, appears headed for imminent demise. Its Washington-based publisher, James Adler, wants to sell less than a year after he bought the publication. And a pity, too. Under the editorship of Robert Friedman, *More* has offered an independent-minded, incisive viewpoint on the media. If McGoff succeeds in buying the *WJR* and *More* folds, only the more staid *Columbia Journalism Review* will remain as a forum for serious media criticism.

*Sidney Blumenthal is the Boston correspondent for IN THESE TIMES. Danny Schechter has just completed a Nieman Fellowship in Journalism at Harvard University.*



## SPORTS

# There is no escape from racial awareness in the playing of the game

By Mark Naison

**F**OR PLAYERS AND WRITERS alike, racial tension in sports is a difficult subject to talk about. Nothing illustrates this better than the spate of fights in the National Basketball Association this year, of which the Kermit Washington-Rudy Tomjanovich affair was the most dramatic. Ninety percent of these fights have been between black and white players, yet everyone, from the Commissioners' office on down, denies that race has anything to do with them.

The only player who has cautiously challenged this consensus is Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. When asked by an interviewer why so many of his fights were with white players, he suggested that white players were less able to perceive, through "body language," when he was reaching his boiling point. Instead of backing off at those moments, they played more aggressively, and then seemed surprised when he began throwing punches.

From my own experience as a schoolyard ballplayer Jabbar's comments ring true, though they don't go far enough in explaining the kind of hidden competition that often goes on between black and white ball players.

Racial polarization is an overwhelming fact of life in sports. During ten years of playing basketball in predominantly black schoolyards and gyms, the only time my race became unimportant was when I was playing with people who knew me well. With strangers, or even acquaintances, the fact that I was a "white boy" inspired, in varying degrees, confusion, annoyance, contempt, amazement, and approval.

Sometimes I experienced extraordinary hospitality and comradeship, a strong effort to make me feel at home; other times I was the target of fierce resentment and a campaign of humiliation. But always, as W.E.B. DuBois once said in a very different contest, I felt I was a "problem" and that my presence increased likelihood of bad feelings in an already highly charged setting.

## Power relations reversed.

It should surprise no one that people take their racial feelings with them when they go out on the court. But in schoolyard basketball, whites have the biggest adjustment to make because the normal power relations in American society are reversed.

Blacks control the game; they define the terms on which it is played. In the last 20 years black players have developed a style that is so far superior to that learned in white ethnic neighborhoods, small towns and suburbs that white players have to learn it to survive in high level competition. The spins, double pumps and fakes, the body control and ball handling skill that your average, run-of-the-mill black schoolyard ballplayer can command makes most white players, even those with good athletic ability, seem clumsy and graceless.

The game is approached as an art form, a mode of self-expression and a symbol of ethnic pride as well as a sport, and the white player joining in often feels like a white jazz musician sitting in with the brothers in a jam session. In a game where improvisation is key, his spontaneous impulses often clash with those around him, and he has to work very hard to blend in.

No matter how radical the person's politics are, the problems are still there. When I first started playing in predominately black games (a consequence of where I lived and who I lived with), I found that my instinctive responses to situations on the court often enraged people.

with the intention of humiliating me as well as looking good, my response—learned in the Irish-Jewish schoolyards of Brooklyn—was to play a tighter, more physical defense to take away his ability to move with the ball and to "punish him" a bit. But in my opponents' world, the appropriate response was for me to throw a few moves on him when I was on offense and to nonchalantly put the ball up "in his face." (Known in the vernacular as "the payback.") To his way of thinking, my bumping and harassing defense violated his space and cramped his style, and was therefore reason for a warning and possibly a fight.

In addition to a clash of cultures, there was also plain ordinary racial hostility. When I finally learned to play in the black style, I got involved in almost as many incidents as I did when I was still playing straightahead "white boy" basketball. After a couple of years, I learned to turn the tables on people trying to "do it to me" by blocking their shots or scoring repeatedly on them with twisting, spinning moves (that is, if they weren't too good!). Some people took it good naturedly as all part of the game, but others were enraged to have a "white boy" outplay them in front of their friends and tried to get satisfaction by removing some of my teeth.

## It had an effect.

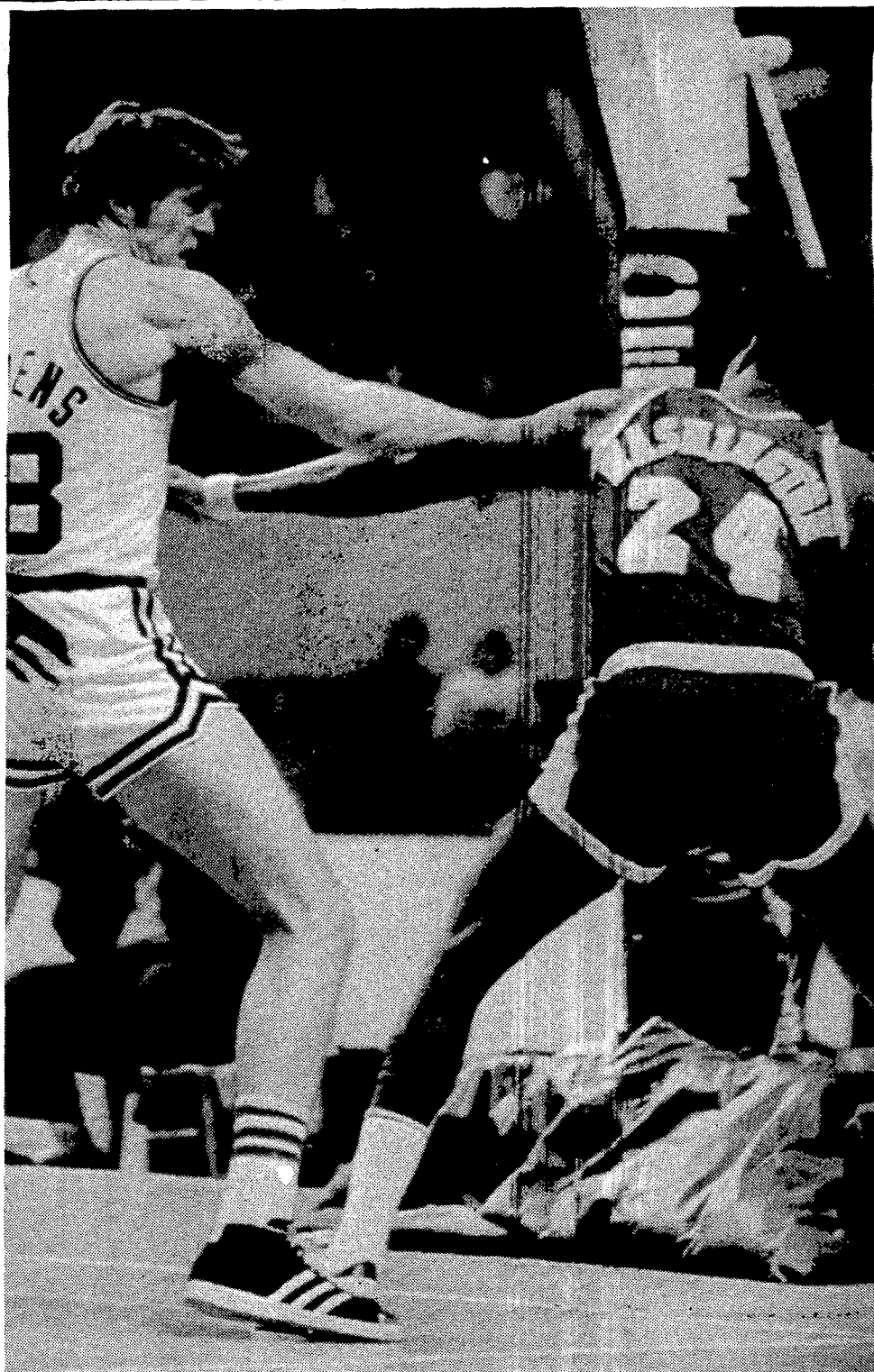
Fortunately, such incidents were the exception rather than the rule. More often than not, good vibes with teammates and friends compensated for the hassles with opponents. I took great pride in being able to adjust my game to a higher level, and drew encouragement from the hand-slaps and raised fists that sometimes greeted my better moves and the sarcastic nicknames people laid on me ("Van Arsdale," "Jerry Quarry," "the Great White Hope").

But the hostility I experienced had an effect on me. To this day I often find myself identifying with white athletes in sports that blacks dominate, such as boxing basketball and track. Fortunately, these feelings have not weakened by resentment against the subtle and not so subtle racism black athletes still experience at the hands of fans, coaches and owners, and against their exclusion from positions of power in the media and in sports administration. But I do not watch sports in a "color blind" fashion, and neither do most of my black friends.

Maybe I'm pessimistic, but I firmly believe that very few people can play basketball or football in an integrated setting without being scarred in some racial competition and hostility. It doesn't surprise me that a black player is more likely to slug a white player than a black one, or vice versa. It reflects the fact that race relations in this country are often abrasive and that even well-intentioned people can be prisoners of their own resentments.

If there's a lesson in this, it is that people should not let their "gut feelings" be their guide in racial matters. In the '60s it was fashionable to say that people had to "let it all hang out" in order to free themselves of repressive attitudes, to cultivate the politics of self-expression, but I could think of nothing more frightening than to see people act out their racial hostilities.

We should not make believe that such feelings don't exist; to do so is to deny the harsh reality of the society we are trying to change. But we must learn to subject them to the discipline of principles that enable people to deal with one another justly. The notion of "fair play" has been turned into a cliché, but it describes the kind of spirit people must bring to this problem, on the field or off.



Underlying the spate of interracial fights in sports is a lack of awareness of the different styles of play and an inability to read body language.



## Class Struggle...

...is the name of the game

PLAY CLASS STRUGGLE—THE FIRST BOARD GAME TO SHOW HOW CAPITALISM REALLY WORKS.

CREATED BY DR. BERTELL OLLMAN, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AT NEW YORK UNIVERSITY—AUTHOR OF "ALIENATION: MARX'S CONCEPTION OF MAN IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY."

CLASS STRUGGLE CAN BE PLAYED BY TWO TO SIX PLAYERS WHO REPRESENT DIFFERENT CLASSES IN SOCIETY (A PLAYER'S CLASS AFFILIATION IS DETERMINED BY A THROW OF THE GENETIC DIE). THE BOARD REPRESENTS LEVELS IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE. PLAYERS CAN PICK UP CHANCE CARDS ON DESIGNATED SQUARES. FOR INSTANCE:

"YOU'VE JUST JOINED THE UNION. THE UNION MAKES US STRONG. TAKE TWO EXTRA TURNS AT THE DICE."

OR

"YOUR SON IS A HEROIN ADDICT, YOUR DAUGHTER HAS JUST BECOME A FOLLOWER OF REV. MOON. SO WHAT GOOD DOES ALL YOUR MONEY DO YOU? WORRYING MAKES YOU FORGET YOUR NEXT TWO TURNS AT THE DICE."

BEGINNER, ADVANCED AND TOURNAMENT RULES—FOR AGES 8 TO 80.

**CLASS STRUGGLE  
IS NOW AVAILABLE THROUGH  
IN THESE TIMES**

\$9.95 PLUS \$1.00 FOR POSTAGE AND HANDLING  
(ILLINOIS RESIDENTS ADD 50¢ TAX)

SEND ME \_\_\_\_\_ CLASS STRUGGLE GAMES. I'VE ENCLOSED \$ \_\_\_\_\_

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

STREET \_\_\_\_\_

CITY \_\_\_\_\_

STATE \_\_\_\_\_

ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

Send to: Class Struggle - In These Times  
1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622



## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT

## Records

Marc Pokempner



Above, Fenton Robinson; Left, Dexter Gordon

**I HEAR SOME BLUES DOWN-STAIRS**Fenton Robinson  
Alligator Records**SHADY COVE**Cove Scrivenor  
(Flying Fish Records)

Small record companies are making news—good news—by continuing to exist and to put fine music on the market despite the dominance of the big conglomerate producers, who simply don't notice their presence.

"It would be a compliment if they worried about us," says Bruce Iglauer, head of Alligator Records (which is a two-man show). "We're so small we're not even noticed, so we can concentrate on finding our audience instead of worrying about big money competition. There's plenty of room for us to work in."

Alligator does its work in the field of blues as played by black artists and makes it financially because of the quality of the music it produces. Every record has to be important, for releases total no more than four a year.

Flying Fish concentrates on white country music, from straight bluegrass to the Old World ramblings of Robin Williamson's merry band. They put out more records than Alligator and seem to have a better national distribution network. But Flying Fish is also a tiny company that acts as a haven for musicians and emphasizes front rank sound and top artistry on a small budget.

Two new releases are proof of the commitment of these two companies. *I Hear Some Blues Downstairs* is Fenton Robinson's second release for Alligator. He excels as a guitarist, singer, composer, arranger and bandleader. Robinson approaches the blues as a musical form that can be interpreted in new creative ways. This calibre of work signals that the blues is alive and well in places like the black urban areas of Chicago.

Every act on the record is distinctive, none of them rehashes of the old. Robinson offers a radical alternative to the dead head presentations of bands like J. Geale.

Gove Scrivenor's reputation has been made in small clubs all

over the country, but he has not been recorded often. *Shady Cove* is his first album in seven years, the second of his career.

Backed by a crack band that includes Doc Watson, Scrivenor goes from his own lyrics to music of Bach, Sonny and Brownie, Mance Lipscomb, to traditionals like "Cocaine Blues" and "Black Cat Bone." Each of the songs becomes his own.

Scrivenor is an original and this album makes you hope that he does a lot more recording. In fact, you hope to hear more from all of Alligator's and Flying Fish's artists. They deserve a listen.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann reviews music regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.

Dexter Gordon  
**BITING THE APPLE**  
(Inner City)

**TRUE BLUE**  
(Xanadu)

**HOMECOMING**  
(Columbia)

Tenor saxophonist Dexter Gordon's triumphant return to the U.S. from Europe in late 1976 led to a spate of albums recorded here at that time—the much publicized *Homecoming* album on Columbia (to whom Gordon is currently contracted), *True Blue*, produced by Gordon's old friend Don Schlitten on the latter's Xanadu label and, the most recent entry in the Gordon Sweepstakes, Inner City's *Biting the Apple*.

After struggling with racism and the ups and downs of the music business in the States for too long, Gordon split for Europe about 15 years ago. He now lives in Copenhagen, but since the success of his 1976 homecoming, his returns to the U.S. are more frequent. In Copenhagen he plays frequently at the Club Montmartre (a jazz club that is heavily subsidized by the government) and continues his association with the Danish Steeplechase record label, often playing in combination with fellow expatriates, pianist Kenny Drew and drummer Albert "Tootie" Heath.

His whole Steeplechase catalogue is now available through Steeplechase's U.S. distributor, Inner City. Their *Biting the Ap-*

*ple*, perhaps the most balanced of the three under review here, is a studio recording that features a bouncy new Gordon composition, "Apple Jump." Gordon's sweeping tenor passages are ably supported by the veteran rhythm section of Barry Harris (piano), Sam Jones (bass) and Al Foster (drums). The ballad, "Skylark" is a personal favorite.

*True Blue* offers Gordon in a simple jam session format. The title tune, a Blue Mitchell composition for blowers, provides some of the best of both men on record in ages. Gordon does not dominate this album. Rather he is featured as one of several talented musicians caught in a happy "cookin'" mood.

Finally, *Homecoming* (a double album) is a live set recorded at the Village Vanguard in New York where Gordon played to sell-out crowds every night. Here Gordon is backed by the Woody Shaw/Louis Hayes Band. Woody Shaw, one of the most underrated mainstream trumpet players around, also wrote a couple of interesting tunes featured on the album. While the combination of Gordon and the Woody Shaw/Louis Hayes group does not always jell perfectly, the album has some moving moments. I am especially fond of "Fenja," a Gordon composition of much warmth named after his recently wedded Danish wife.

Aside from the recordings listed above, one of the most hopeful signs to come out of Gordon's recent engagements back in the USA has been the large number of young people who have turned out for, and responded positively to, his music. He has just completed a very successful college tour. Another generation seems to be discovering the excitement of Long Tall Dexter, once an angry young bebopper, now, at 55, an elder statesman of black music.

—Ron Sakolsky  
Ron Sakolsky teaches at Sangamon State University and reviews jazz regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.

DONALD SHAFFER  
ASSOCIATES, INC.

ALL FORMS OF INSURANCE

Specialists in Pension &  
Employee Benefit Planning11 GRACE AVENUE  
Great Neck, N.Y. 11021  
212-895-7005  
516-466-4642

*In These Times' spirit is inviting,  
not narrowly sectarian.  
You get a sense of solidarity,  
of facts and ideas in  
combination.*

Gloria Steinem  
Ms. Magazine



## SUBSCRIBE TODAY

- ☐ Send *IN THESE TIMES* for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.  
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of *IN THESE TIMES*. Here's \$17.50.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City, State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

IN THESE TIMES, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

- ☐ Send me *IN THESE TIMES* for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.  
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of *IN THESE TIMES*. Here's \$17.50.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City, State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622

- ☐ Send *IN THESE TIMES* for 4 trial months. Here's \$7.75.  
☐ Send me 50 bargain weeks of *IN THESE TIMES*. Here's \$17.50.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City, State \_\_\_\_\_  
Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Back issues available for \$1.00 each.

In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622



## BOOKS

# Surrealism: is it now or has it ever been revolutionary?

## WHAT IS SURREALISM? Selected Writings

By Andre Breton, edited and introduced by Franklin Rosemont  
Monad Books (Pathfinder Press), \$8.95, paperback

"Contrary to prevalent misdefinitions, surrealism is not an aesthetic doctrine, not a philosophical system, nor a mere literary or artistic school... It aims to free the imagination from the mechanisms of psychic and social repression, so that the inspiration and exaltation heretofore regarded as the exclusive domain of poets and artists will be acknowledged as the common property of all."

A bold beginning for a very bold book. Andre Breton, who in 1924 penned the First Surrealist Manifesto and remained at the leadership of the extraordinary cultural-political movement that followed, has scarcely been known in this country outside French departments and Art History classes. Now, at last, we can hear Breton on a staggering range of subjects, sounding the call for humankind to listen to its dreams and pay closer heed to its imagination as part of the revolutionary question.

Franklin Rosemont adds a meticulously researched, book-length introduction, itself a manifesto on the continuity of the movement into the present.

Readers who seek an explanation of their own cultural revolutions during the 1960s and after will find no ready-made answers here. The acid-droppings, weird rock, Aquarian expectations and bitter disillusionments seem galaxies away from the single-mindedly visionary and sometimes abstract surrealist gaze.

The mind-bending art on many recent LP covers seems to indicate that the original surrealist thrust has been superceded and devaluated. And certainly the political implications of surrealism as liberation are uncertain in a world where multitudinous classes and nationalities, women

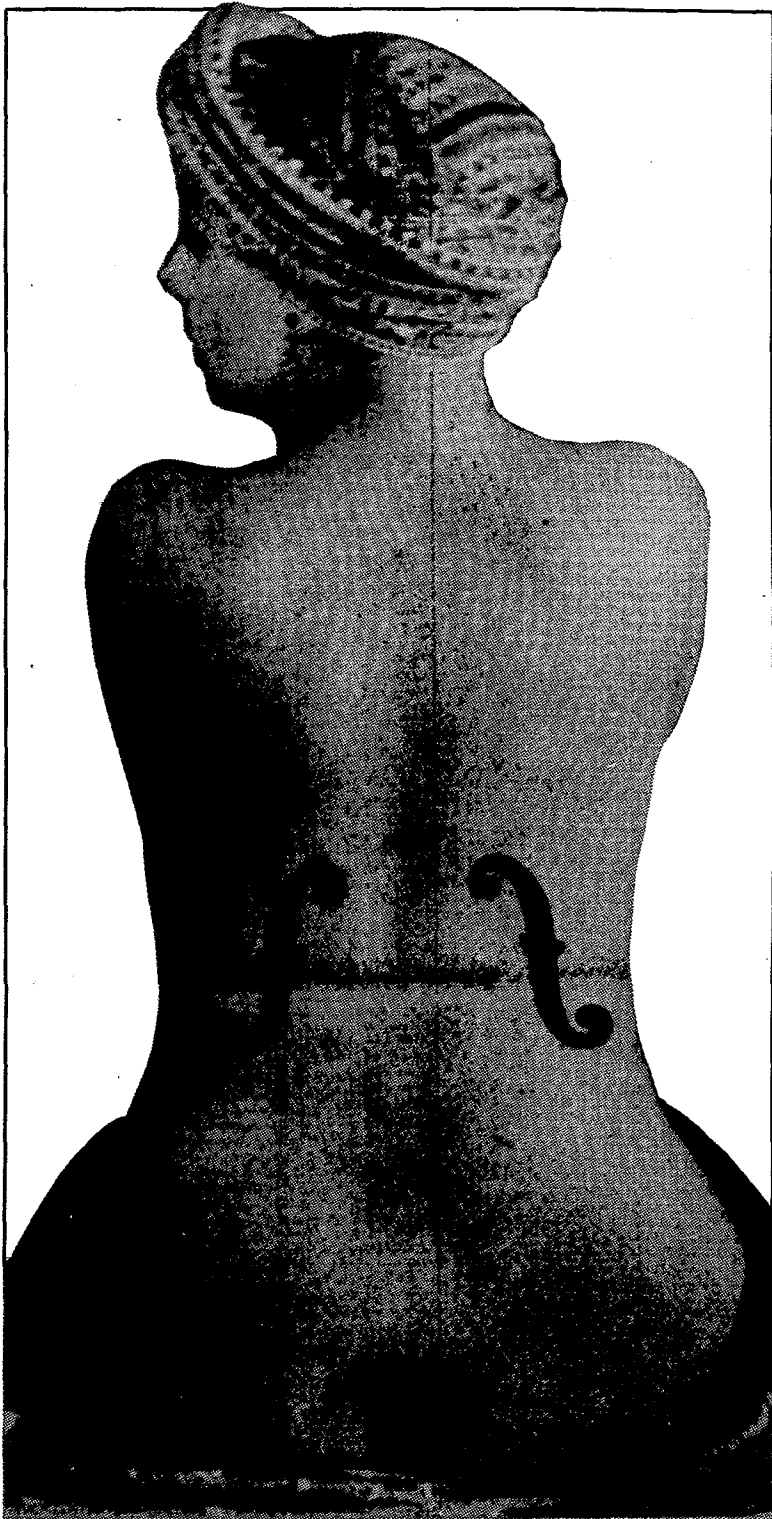
and gays have explicated their own astonishingly diverse paths.

But even so, and even despite the strident tone of text and introduction to this book, Breton remains a sentinel in the search for human creativity and dignity.

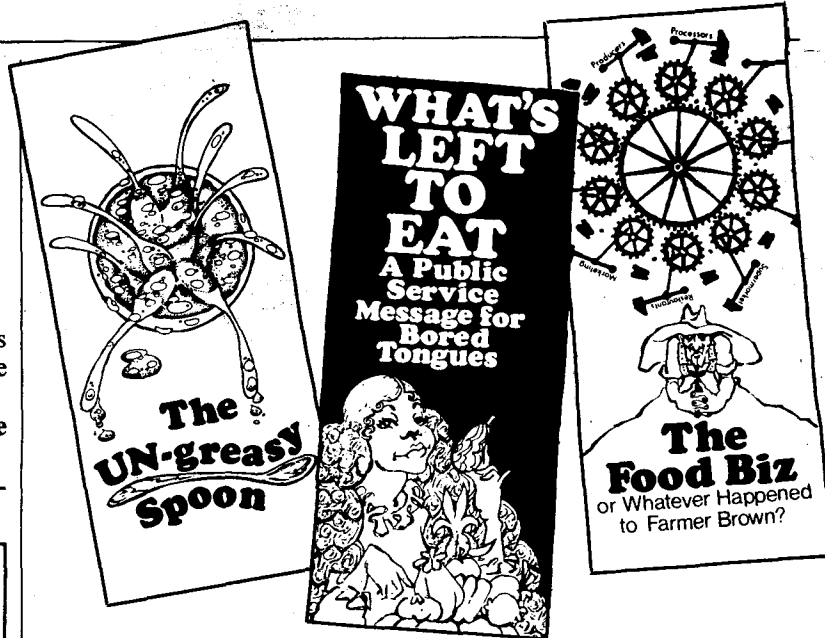
*What Is Surrealism?* takes its place alongside the classics on the revolutionary bookshelf.

—Paul Buhle

Paul Buhle is the editor of *Cultural Correspondence*.



Man Ray's *VIOLIN D'INGRES*, a 1924 in-joke.



Three of the *Midget Encyclopedia* brochures.

## How to save what's left of your health

### THE GARBAGE BOOK

### THE CAR MILEAGE BOOK

### 100 WAYS TO SAVE ENERGY AND MONEY IN THE HOME

### KEEPING THE HEAT IN

### THE BILL PAYER'S GUIDE TO FURNACE SERVICING

### ENERGY CONSERVATION IS GOOD BUSINESS

Conservation Books  
P.O. Box 3500, Station C, Ottawa,  
Ontario K1Y 4G1, Can.

While our Congress is still kicking the energy problem around the political rugby field, Canada's Department of Energy, Mines and Resources has made available for free (at least to Canadians) six neat, comprehensible handbooks on various aspects of conservation. They are well-researched, well illustrated, full of usable reference charts, blanks to be filled in with your own records—printed on cheap, recycled paper. Here is a model our own Department of Energy and its government printing office should be urged to emulate.

Meanwhile, if you are a Canadian or have a Canadian friend, write away for your copies. All the information works below as well as above the border.

All the information  
works below as well  
as above the border.

### MIDGET ENCYCLOPEDIA OF FOOD & NUTRITION

Center for Science in the Public  
Interest  
1755 S. Street, NW, Washington,  
DC 20009

For one dollar (cheaper by the dozen) you can buy five well-designed little brochures covering an extraordinary range of problems that concern everyone who eats. For example: additives—which ones are safe (the list is short); how to avoid the "questionable" ones like saccharine, the "silent" ones like DDT and/or the unrecognized ones like salt, sugar and caffeine.

There is a good deal of surprising and useful insight into the workings of the giant food industry—from farmer to consumer—with hints on how to outwit it and save yourself money. There are analyses of the cholesterol content of many common foods, comparisons of the fat content in others, reasonably reliable information of why this matters to you, and a list of cookbooks for those willing to reform their eating habits.

—J.S.

## CLASSIFIED

**THE BOSTON COLLECTIVE** of the Radical Historians' Organization invites you to a fundraising "party of the Vanguard," Saturday, June 10 at 9 pm, 153 Lexington Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138. Donation \$3. Dancing and munchies.

**SEVEN DAYS**—A major national alternative magazine. Solid, independent-radical accounts of news: international, national, culture, features and arts. See the whole picture. 206 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10010.

**BOOKS PRINTED**—Compugraphic Typesetting. Biography Press, Rt. 1-745, Aransas Pass, TX 78336.

### NEW YORK READERS

Socialist Democracy  
in Cuba—Contrasting Views  
Several speakers including  
Michael Rivas, former minister  
in the Castro government  
Sunday, June 11, 7:30 p.m.  
ACTWU Hall, Local 169  
33 W. 14th St.

Sponsored by DSOC  
Free Admission

**GAY OPPRESSION AND LIBERATION, or HOMOPHOBIA: ITS CAUSES AND CURE.** "A basic document for building the future of a meaningful, vital peace community." Allan Solomonow, WIN Magazine. \$3.50 postpaid. **ALSO—MOVING TOWARD A NEW SOCIETY.** "A bold, joyous, creative outlook...for a different America in the wider context of a quest for a peaceful and just world order." Richard Falk. \$4.00 postpaid. **MOVEMENT FOR A NEW SOCIETY,** 4722 Baltimore Ave., Box O, Philadelphia, PA 19143.

**TYPESETTING: IN THESE TIMES** is now setting jobs at very reasonable rates. **IN THESE TIMES** typefaces and other on hand. Will set large or small jobs. For stylesheet or estimate contact: In These Times, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave. Chicago, 489-4444.

**IN NEW YORK**—A Sit-in for Survival. Monday, June 12 at U.S. Mission to the UN. Show your support for disarmament by participating in non-violent civil disobedience. Sponsored by Mobilization for Survival, 339 Lafayette St., NY, NY 10012. Call 212/228-0450.

Tired of those back issues of **ITT** piling up beneath the coffee table? Please send us any spare copies of **ITT** volume 1, #s 38, 39 and 40 and we'll help you solve part of your problem. **ITT**, 1509 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60622.

**PRACTICAL POLITICS MAGAZINE** is the non-academic journal that reports on campaign activity, electoral analysis, and political movements and trends in the ever-changing landscape of Political Americana. Sample copy \$1.50. Center for the Study of Practical Politics, Box 2495, Springfield, IL 62705.



**PEOPLE'S SHOES** from People's China. Durable, comfortable, machine washable. 100% cotton over vinyl soles. Specify strap or slip-on & size. Satisfaction guaranteed. \$7.00 post paid. Not-for-profit distribution by Good Things Collective, Box 450-IT, Somerville, MA 02144.

**CURRENT EVENTS CASSETTE TAPES.** Interviews with: Ralph Nader (\$5.95); Victor Marchetti (\$4.95); James Meredith (\$4.95). Feature programs on: American Indian Movement (\$5.95); Civil Rights Today (\$4.95); Nuclear Energy Debate (\$5.95); Alternative Schools (\$4.95); Feminist Issues (2 tapes \$8.95); Heroin Addiction (\$4.95); Food Co-op Organizing (\$5.95). \$1.00 postage/handling on orders under \$10.00. Impact Tapes, P.O. Box 2278, Inglewood, CA 90305.

**SOMEWHERE IN MONTANA** is someone named Bob Knickmeyer, who wrote to In These Times but forgot to include his address! Please, Bob Knickmeyer! We need to get in touch with you.

**NUCLEAR WAR PAMPHLET.** 14 Dramatic Pictures Show What Happens. Plus What You Can Do To Stop Nuclear War. Plus a Listing of Some Peace-Oriented Organizations. Single or Multiple Copies Available At No Charge Except For Shipping and Handling Costs. Write Jerome Grossman, Box 2000, AD, Wellesley, Mass. 02181.

**"LOVE TIMES" (GAY-BI) Magazine.** Sample copy \$3; Yearly subscription \$15. Box 15607T, Honolulu, HI 96815. Inquiries invited; applications available.

**PEDAGOGY IN PROCESS:** The Letters to Guinea-Bissau by Paulo Freire, with a foreword by Jonathan Kozol; hardcover \$8.95. Order from Bellows Distribution, P.O. Box 782, Rochester, MN 55901.

### CORRESPONDENCE WANTED

Arthur Shelton, 106334, JRCC infirmery, State Farm, VA 23160.

James Walter Sanders, 026418, P.O. Box 747, Starke, FL 32091.

John Johnson, #39826, Box 1000, Steilacoom, Washington 98388.

### HELP WANTED

**GUTSY, PERSISTENT INDIVIDUAL** needed to work as full-time fundraiser for In These Times. \$900/month against 10% of money raised. Interested? Call and convince us we should hire you. Nick Rabkin, 312/489-4444.



## FILM

# Madame Rosa, perfect vehicle for a great French actress

## MADAME ROSA

Written and directed by Moshe Mizrahi  
Starring Simone Signoret  
An Atlantic Films release.

Kids 'n' dogs 'n' goodhearted whores could be the ingredients for a very sticky confection—but not in *Madame Rosa*.

Simone Signoret has been given a perfect vehicle and steers it flawlessly between sentimentality and cynicism. Her Rosa is not another romanticized prostitute, but an unadorned human being with neither glaring faults nor gleaming virtues, who requires neither glorification or pity. She's a woman of strength who has chosen her own course in life, and until retirement at age 50 ("for aesthetic reasons"), "found it as good as any other."

As the film opens, Rosa is supporting herself by providing room and board for the little mistakes of other streetwalkers. At first the kids are packed into her sixth floor walk-up, three to a bed. But as her health declines, so does the number of her charges until she is left with only Momo, a 14-year-old Arab boy who has been badgering her for information about his absentee parents, leading the younger children to minor rebellions and getting into trouble on the street. He also possesses a moody, brooding nature that has Madame dragging him to the doctor for advice and tranquilizers (advice for him; tranquilizers for her).

But as Rosa's life becomes more tenuous and Momo's outlook more bleak, they discover in each other the only genuine emotional bond either has experienced. It eventually proves to be even stronger than ties of blood. Their roles are reversed. Momo is compelled to take care of Rosa who, after giving him affection and ideals, must leave him to face the uncertain prospect of a life without love. "Is it possible to live such a life?" Momo muses. "We shall see..."

On the surface *Madame Rosa* is about the relationship of two people, but it is also about the relationship between money and love.

For a prostitute, the connection is obvious, but it manifests itself with more ambiguity in every other aspect of Rosa's life. She loves the kids she cares for, pesters their parents to keep up with their money orders, and continues to keep the troublesome Momo although his support payments are years in arrears. She is outraged when Momo sells his beloved pet terrier and then stuffs the 500 francs down a sewer. Ostensibly her concern is for the waste of money, but it is really more for the show of cold-bloodedness on the boy's part. Although she talks with a sliver of pride about the loyal clientele of her heyday, she extracts a promise from Momo never to "peddle his ass," and in a fit of rage tears up a hundred-franc note pressed on him by a helpful whore—carefully enough to be able to piece it back together if necessary.

When Madame falls ill, the cash flows freely from the pocketbooks of her practical-minded neighbors, who also make the mistake

## They discover in each other a bond stronger than ties of blood.

of equating love with money. In the end, however, it is not the idea of life without money, but life without love that is terrifying to face.

Samy Ben-Youb as Momo lends a considerable amount of talent, as well as his melancholy

good looks. Writer/director Mizrahi has preserved a delicate quality of the story (based on a novel by Emile Ajar) by making the film a series of vignettes rather than a solid narrative. His direction and screenplay are both intelligent and subdued, the perfect touch needed for this type of subject. That touch and Signoret's superb performance make *Madame Rosa* a film worth seeing.

—P. Hertel  
P. Hertel is a free-lance writer in Chicago who reviews regularly for *IN THESE TIMES*.

Right: Simone Signoret as Madame Rosa.  
Below: Samy Ben-Youb as Momo.



# Still waiting for the victory of the people

## A COMMON MAN'S COURAGE

A TV documentary by John de Graaf and Jim Mulligan

Like the civil rights movement of the 1960s, the farmer-worker protests of the Great Depression saw millions of formerly invisible, voiceless Americans rise suddenly into history-making roles. The collective dramas of both periods were often most vividly reflected in the stories of individual men and women who acquired stunning courage, strength and vision as they became leaders of their people.

John de Graaf and Jim Mulligan have helped recover the history of one such leader from the 1930s, John Toussaint Bernard, labor organizer and one-term congressman from the Mesabi iron range. In their fine new TV documentary, *A Common Man's Courage*, they also give us a glimpse of the underlying movement that produced and sustained the man and his political expression: the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota.

De Graaf, who conceived the

idea while writing about Bernard for a newspaper in Duluth, sought the help of Jim Mulligan, production director for University Community Video (Minneapolis) where *Union Maids'* video work was done. This documentary is the result of their collaboration.

They have spliced newspaper clippings and still shots into a splendid script, which lets Bernard tell his own story in a deep, accented, passionate voice.

If there is a weakness, it is the failure to include more background about the movements in which he was involved—shots of workers' meetings, cartoons, songs—the treatment that made *Union Maids* so effective. But *A Common Man's Courage* succeeds by conveying Bernard's life with integrity and care, giving attention to the political questions that were the heart of his concern, revealing his connection to the people that was his sustaining inspiration.

Bernard immigrated with his family from Corsica to the Mesabi in 1907 at the age of 14 and soon thereafter went to work in the mines. Remembering unions

in France, he asked how come there were none in Minnesota. For answer, the miners formed a union and elected him president. The steel trust promptly fired him.

After a stint with the army in WWI and a brief career as a fireman, he played a role in the rapidly growing Farmer-Labor party. The most momentous act of his career came on his first day as a Farmer-Labor congressman, when he had to vote on President Roosevelt's request for an embargo on supplies for both sides in the Spanish Civil War.

The new Spanish Republic was under attack by Franco, backed by Hitler and Mussolini, and for the American Left its defense had become the dividing line between the forces of progress and democracy on one side and the legions of tyranny on the other. Bernard met with a group of progressive congressmen on the day before the vote was to be taken and expected the others to join him in opposing the embargo.

When the vote came, the opposition of the others had melted in the face of the authority of

the political establishment. Bernard had to shout his objection five times before the Speaker recognized him, but he persisted and registered his opposition—the only nay vote there was.

Bernard lost his seat in 1938 as the result of a massive right-wing attack, but he continued to organize, working for years on the staff of the United Electrical Workers union. Like many others, he suffered McCarthyite repression, but maintained his resolve, optimism and commitment. *A Common Man's Courage* closes with a tribute to him, held at an iron range camp in 1977, 40 years after his vote against the embargo.

"I'm pushing 85 and I'm getting a little impatient," Bernard tells the assembled audience. "I'm still waiting for the ultimate victory of we, the people."

—Harry C. Boyte  
Harry C. Boyte's book on citizen organizing, *Sweet Land of Liberty*, will appear in the fall.

*A Common Man's Courage* can be ordered, in cassette or video tape, from University Community Video, 560 Rarig Center, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis



# Shoelaces

The airbrakes hissed their lock-up hiss. Dust, bugs, paper and assorted alley-way clutter scattered to each side. "Shoelaces" jumped from the cab to the ground, landing lightly on high-topped, dirty sneakers that trailed untied, purple shoelaces.

As he raced over the rusty, dented 50-gallon drums, blasts of gut-wrenching stench smacked him in the face. Flipping each of the lids, he peered in. Maggots wallowed in their sickly white slime, but otherwise the cans were empty. No garbage! No payola! Nothing! Nope, nothing again!

The impatient and childlike "gimme" look slid from the boy's face. He slammed the last lid to the ground and a pout formed on his lips.

By then Bossman had slid down from the driver's side. Brown-on-brown-in-brown, Bossman's huge frame filled a khaki jump-suit. White specked his Afro-bushy beard. His coal black eyes peered out from under the brim of his cap. "Be cool, boy," the look said. "Why can't you wait till I give you the word?"

Shamed, Shoelaces picked up the lid and threw it back on the drum.

Albert, the body-shop man, came out of his small garage. Dust covered every inch of him, from the top of his bald dome to the steel toes of his workshoes. Paint was mixed with the dust on his hairy, stubby hands, and paint stains mottled his work pants. A white t-shirt covered only part of his bulging beer-belly and gave his muscular arms freedom to sand, spray, rub and wax.

Albert took a breath of the fresh air of the summer morning and walked over to shake hands with Bossman and point out the leech-boxes that were ready to dump.

The people at the hotel next door used these as if they were their own, which angered Albert. But neither he nor his German shepherd watchdog could dissuade the hotel guests, so the heavy steel boxes overflowed with wine bottles, beer cans, grease-soaked wrappers from carry-outs, rotted food, newspapers and rags.

Bossman and Albert leaned their hulk and bulk on the first leech-box. It hesitated, but their combined power finally started its wheels turning. The black man and the immigrant slammed it into the rear end of the truck with such force that Shoelaces jumped back from the impact.

His ears still ringing, the boy scaled the truck like a spider, to grab one of the guide chains and hook it to its post. Bossman had already hooked up the other.

"Dump 'er," he ordered as he and Albert went back for the second leech-box.

Shoelaces grabbed the arm of the power winch with both hands. The machine slowly pulled the guide lines taut. The winch whined. The chains snapped into place.

The back wheels of the garbage-filled container rose from the cracked concrete of the alley, and the winch's whine dropped an octave in pitch. The box tipped back. Its heavy metal door-flaps slammed against the solid steel of the truck bottom. Garbage tumbled into the slop-swamped bin. Another loud crash signalled when it was empty.

Bossman and Albert were already waiting with the other box. Grabbing the power arm again, Shoelaces lowered the empty container to the ground. Albert pulled it away while Bossman pushed the full one into place.

"Can you handle it, boy? Bossman asked.

Shoelaces answered by hooking up one chain, then walking tight-rope style across the narrow rear lip of the truck's bin to hook up the other. Bossman went to help Albert wrestle a big steel door that lay trapped under other junk.



His coal black eyes peered out from under the brim of his cap. "Be cool, boy," the look said. "Why can't you wait till I give you the word?"

The second leech-box wasn't resting flush against the back of the truck as the first had. The boy leaned his 70 pounds against it, but it didn't notice him. He reversed himself and pressed his back against the box, pushing till he felt his thigh muscle knot. Nothing happened.

Frustrated, he looked to the men for help, but they didn't see him. After a moment he climbed up and pulled the power arm again. The box wobbled softly off the ground. The chains hadn't tightened evenly. Something was wrong. The

chain close to Shoelaces halted, then tangled on its spool, the fouled lines grating with the sound of misclutched gears.

The boy's eyes bugged out and the bottom fell from his stomach. *Damn! I'm in trouble now! Bossman gonna kill me!*

Bossman and Albert hadn't raised their heads from their struggle with the steel door. Sweat was soaking through Bossman's jump-suit, turning his armpits and chest the same dark color as his skin. Albert's gut showed through his clinging t-shirt, and the dust on his head was

streaked with streams of sweat. Both men were swearing.

Terrified, Shoelaces watched the box swing free of the pavement, the near side lagging behind the other. It would surely fall—or the far chain would snap—before it reached the bin. *Maybe it's stuck!* He pulled harder on the winch arm. *Hurry up! C'mon, move it.* His heart was pounding so hard it choked him.

The box continued at its own pace. Slowly the lid slid over the edge of the truck bin. The door-flaps opened, and the garbage began to trickle out. *O, Lord, thank you Lord!*

The loose chain didn't pull its end up high enough and some of the garbage stayed in the leech-box. The boy saw it, but he was so relieved at having averted catastrophe that he lowered it anyway. *Good enough!*

By this time, Albert and Bossman had freed the steel door and were leaning on it, watching the leech-box ease back to the pavement. Bossman came over to slam the flaps shut and looked in before doing so.

"This ain't no good, boy. You ain't done."

He glanced up at the chains, put his heavy bulk against the leech-box and pushed it firmly against the truck. Then he rehooked the delinquent chain.

"It'll work all right now," he said with a wink.

The winch whined. The chain snapped into place. The motor groaned as the box dumped its remaining garbage into the bin.

"Push this back over there and pick up them rotted woods," Bossman ordered, pointing to some termite-infested 2x4s left from Albert's remodeling of his garage.

While Bossman and Albert were getting the steel door into the slop bed, the boy collected bits and pieces of lumber.

The mess half filled the gaping maw of the truck's rear end. Bossman reached for a red handle on the side of the truck, and the garbage came to life. It tumbled slowly back while the solid steel bulkhead that formed the bin's front wall inched toward the rear.

Then the truck roared and the bulkhead was raised, revealing tons of compacted garbage behind it. The steel wall smothered the new load, strained a few seconds, then pulled the whole mass (including the steel door) to the front of the truck, where it disappeared.

Bossman and Albert shook their heads in awe. Shoelaces stood completely still, hypnotized.

"Well, I guess that's all for today," Bossman said and held out his hand to Albert.

"Yup, that's all."

"See ya next time."

"Okay, see you. Good-bye, boy."

"Good-bye, sir."

Bossman swaggered back to the driver's side, carrying himself with the confidence of a job well done. The boy tried to imitate the man's gait, but his frame had neither the bulk or the experience necessary. Albert laughed quietly at the boy and the untied shoelaces trailing behind him.

He stood for a moment breathing the fresh air, feeling the sun's warmth, soaking up the sounds of bird song, screeching tires, horns and sirens, waiting till the air brakes of the truck hissed again.

"You did good, boy," Bossman said to his apprentice as he released the brake handle. "But tie them goddam shoelaces before you break yo' goddam neck."

—Tom Johnson

Tom Johnson is a freelance writer from Michigan.